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These are the Lines that shew thy **Face**; *but those*
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Discoueries and Fowle-Ouerthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civillized by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn;
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.

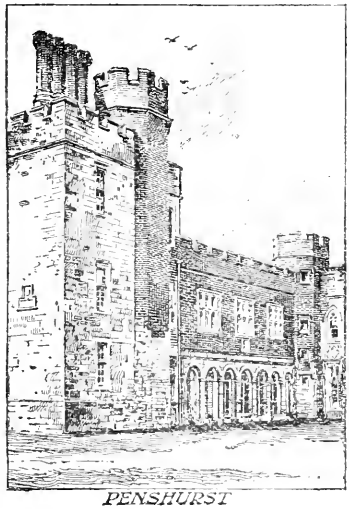
THE PENSHURST EDITION

OF

INGATHERINGS FROM OUR HISTORY AND LITERATURE

EDITED BY

PROFESSOR EDWARD ARBER



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INTRODUCTION

THE reader of the various tracts here reprinted may find it convenient to have a brief account of the authors. The first pamphlet, 'Of English Dogs,' translated in 1576, was published in Latin in 1570, by John Caius (1510-1573). He is best remembered as the founder of Caius ('Keys') College in Cambridge, but in his time he was an eminent physician and writer on medicine. He was a student at Gonville Hall, Cambridge, which he practically refounded as 'Caius,' and was one of the early Greek scholars of his country, before the Revival of Letters, under Erasmus, Collet, Cheke, and More, was delayed by the reforming zeal of Henry VIII. The labours of that evangelist made England an extremely unquiet place for men of learning, while there is much reason to doubt whether Caius ever quite shook off 'the rags of Rome.' In 1539, probably to avoid the 'bustling of the university up and down' in matters of religion, Caius migrated to the schools of Padua. This was a tranquil home of letters and law, the mundane Republic of Venice discountenancing the persecutions which raged among the godly, whether Lutheran, Calvinist, or Anglican. The university had an Anglo-Scottish 'Nation,' of which the registers have lately been published. The celebrated Vesalius was here Caius's teacher in anatomy, a

study for which the Church in the Middle Ages professed no admiration. After taking his doctor's degree (1541), Caius made a scientific tour among the libraries of Europe, especially examining the MSS. of Galen, the Greek medical writer. Returning to England shortly before the death of Henry VIII., he was commanded by that prince to lecture on anatomy. He also wrote a treatise, reckoned fine, on the 'Sweating Sickness,' and was appointed to the post, no sinecure, of physician to the ailing Edward VI. On the decease of the young king, our English Josiah, Caius held the same office in the household of Queen Mary, usually styled by a vulgar *sobriquet*, 'the Bloody.' The offices enjoyed by Caius were lucrative, and he was not like the wealthy of the Reformation, whom Latimer chides for their neglect of scholars. He re-endowed Gonville, where he had been educated, and became (1559) master of the College, without salary. On Mary's death, Elizabeth maintained Caius in his place of Royal physician, but, as Protestantism became of a more persecuting temper, he retired (1568), or was dismissed from his anxious post. After the affair of the St. Bartholomew, the Protestants were full of nervous suspicions, and Caius fell into trouble because he possessed certain 'idolatrous' objects and ecclesiastical vestments. A bonfire of these was made in the College quadrangle, but, on July 29, 1573, Caius escaped, by death, from the tender mercies of Protestantism. Three years later, Abraham Fleming translated the tract on Dogs, written for Gesner the naturalist, whom Walton quotes so freely in the *Compleat Angler*.

The little tract by 'Dr.' Dee (he was only a Master of Arts) is outside the lines of his ordinary work, which was mathematical, astronomical, astrological, and concerned

with 'crystal gazing.' John Dee (1547-1608) was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Like Caius he travelled much in search of learning: unlike Caius his orthodoxy was suspected under Mary Tudor. Elizabeth extended to him a good deal of the favour which takes the shape of promises; but he ruined himself, under his servant, Kelly, in experiments in 'crystal gazing,' or rather in gazing into a piece of polished obsidian. A similar plaque, Aztec in origin, is in the British Museum. He believed in the old magical absurdities connected with this practice, was duped by Kelly, and was regarded as a sorcerer, from which imputation James I. declined to let him clear himself. He really shone as a mathematician, but was an unpractical, flighty, superstitious scholar. His tract here seems to be a piece of hack work, done to advertise Robert Hitchcock's 'plat' or scheme for encouraging fisheries. The best account of Dee's transactions with the rogue Kelly, with foreign princes interested in magic, and with 'scrying' in the 'show stones,' is that of Miss Goodrich Freer ('Miss X.'), derived from Original MSS. in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research. Perhaps Kelly was one of the many people who can induce hallucinations by gazing into any clear deep; but his array of angels and spirits, and his various traditional mummeries, and 'calls' to spirits, are rejected by educated modern investigators. He gulled and ruined Dee, a learned, dull, credulous student.

Of Robert Hitchcock, author of 'A Political Plat,' little is known except from his published and unpublished works. He held lands in Buckinghamshire, and in 1580 received a commission to raise Buckingham volunteers to serve in the Low Countries. He took much trouble with his 'Plat,' but the dissolution of Parliament in 1576 prevented it from

being considered at that time, and Hitchcock's expenditure in dinners to burgesses of seaport towns was wasted. He had written a Memoir on National Defence in 1571, and presented it to Elizabeth in 1580. Other tracts he wrote, and, in 1590, translated, as 'The Quintessence of Wit,' a selection of Italian maxims collected by Francesco Sansovino. His 'Arte of Warre' was an edition and completion of a manuscript by William Garrard, an Englishman in Spanish service, 1591; with this Hitchcock combined the tract in the present volume.[1]

William Harrison (1534-1593) was educated at St. Paul's, Westminster, and Christ Church. He was in Anglican orders, and is best known for his *Description of England*, planned by the Queen's Printer, Reginald Wolfe (edited by Dr. Merivale, 1877). He also wrote on Chronology and on Weights and Measures.

Of John Dennis or Dennys, the author of *The Secrets of Angling*, it is to be said that he pursued the *fallentis semita vitæ* as a contemplative man ought to do, as anglers love to do, and as a minor poet often, reluctantly, does.

John Taylor, a worse poet, is more widely known (1580-1653). Maimed as a pressed sailor in Elizabeth's navy, he became a Thames waterman, but carriages and hackney coaches injured his business; he took to rhyming, went on humoristic journeys, and turned his adventures into 'copy.' His best-known journey (1618) carried him as far north as Braemar, in the train of James VI. and I., where he described a Highland hunting-party. He was born to be a rather rowdy pressman, to write buffooneries, and contribute to the press eccentric narratives and picturesque adventures of the road.

[1] See Mr. A. F. Pollard in Supplementary Volume (ii.) of the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Henry Peacham (1576-1643) was a literary struggler of a higher feather. A scholar of Trinity (Cambridge) and a schoolmaster, he could sketch, write Latin verses, English verses, and compose music to his own words. He produced occasional loyal odes. He wandered on the Continent, sometimes as bear-leader to young men of rank, sons of Lord Arundel, sometimes alone. He was the author of *The Compleat Gentleman*, a successful manual of accomplishments; he compiled anecdotes, wrote reminiscences, political tracts (Royalist), and even books for children. In short he was a literary hack of all work, and, of course, was 'reduced to poverty in his old age,' probably before he received any royalties on 'The Worth of a Penny.'

I

The majority of the tracts in this volume represent ancient journalism. To-day the authors would put them forth as articles in newspapers, or perhaps in the more ponderous magazines. Before such vehicles existed, the essays, as a rule, took the shape of pamphlets, in which the press, through the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., was prolific. The tractate on English Dogs, by Dr. Caius, is an exception to the general rule: it merely contains materials for Gesner's Natural History.[1] The other tracts in the volume illustrate not the political and religious conditions of the time, but its social aspects, its peculiar political economy—then universal—its miseries, and its sports. The grievances were (as much earlier) the increase of grazing, the consequent depression of agriculture, the absence of efficiency everywhere, the neglect of fisheries, the lack of employment, the

[1] *Historiæ Animalium.* Tiguri: Froschover. 1551-1587.

want of safe investments, the hoarding of bullion, and the extremes of poverty and wealth. Of the ruinous system of monopolies we hear little. The tract of Caius avoids all these burning questions. The essay is of interest to us mainly for the odd vivacity of the translator's English style, like that of B.R.'s rendering of Herodotus, partly as matter of natural history and the evolution of species of dogs, and, again, because of the illustrations of sport. The spelling and accenting of Greek words in the translator's text is pleasantly fantastic. We leave them as we find them. We learn that the same dogs, *leverarii*, were used as harriers and as foxhounds. The actual foxhound is mainly the result of specialised breeding in the eighteenth century, during which hare-hunting (practised by Squire Western) gradually went out of vogue, and fox-hunting became fashionable, 'jelly dogs' losing favour. Terriers, as their name proves, were used against foxes and badgers that had gone to earth. The 'entering' of terriers, their education, is adequately described by Dandie Dinmont in *Guy Mannering*. 'Beast or body, education should aye be minded. I had them a' regularly entered, first wi' rottens, then wi' stots or weasels, and then wi' the tods or brocks, and now they fear naething that ever cam' wi' a hairy skin on 't.' From rats to weasels, foxes, badgers, and otters (of which Dandie makes no mention) is the curriculum of a terrier's education. Dandie does not include cats, the habitual prey of the well-trained dandie dinmont. Not to assail cats ought to be part of his education; it is often successfully undertaken by puss herself. Caius is brief and unsympathetic in his section on terriers, and throws no light on the breeding of our extant classes of that hound. The dandie was fully developed at the close of the

eighteenth century, as may be seen in Gainsborough's portrait of the young Duke of Buccleuch, in company with a very fine dandie with a dome-like head. The present fashion breeds dandies too small and neat, and of insufficient strength, in the humble opinion of the present writer.[1] The Borders, the home of the dandie, were also naturally the home of the bloodhound, so valuable for his use in 'pursuing pestilent persons who plant their pleasure in practices of purloining'—everything that had legs. Such persons were Ill Will Armstrong, Kinmont Willie, and Dick o' the Cow. Among greyhounds both the rough and smooth varieties are reckoned, the former used in stag-hunting, the latter in coursing hares. The 'tumbler' and 'thievish dog' would now probably be spoken of as 'lurchers,' night-wandering poaching curs of low degree. The spaniel and setter appear to be much what they were in the time of Dr. Caius, though a comparison of pictures of dogs in portraits, from Holbein's time downwards, is necessary for precision. The *Canis Piscator* of Hector Boece ('Boethius'), which 'seeketh for fish by smelling among rock and stone,' is probably one of the many myths of that pillar of falsehood. At all events, though one has known terriers to attack salmon in the water during the spawning season, and though a collie, Jock by name, has been trained to turn a hooked salmon when he tries to leave the pool, one has never heard of a dog that traces fish by the scent.

Of dogs, 'little, pretty, proper, and fine, sought for to satisfy the delicateness of dainty dames,' we know that Mary Stuart, in captivity, was very fond, and one such dog was faithful to the end. 'She had a little dog with her

[1] See Mr. Cook's *The Dandie Dinmont Terrier*.

upon the scaffold, who was sitting there during the whole time, keeping very quiet and never stirring from her side, but as soon as the head was stricken off, he began to bestir himself and cry out. Afterwards he took up a position between the body and the head, which he kept until some one came and removed him, and this had to be done by violence.' The dog of the Queen was more loyal than her son. Henri III. of France, in his conscientious pursuit of effeminacy, made much ado with tiny toy dogs: 'This abuse,' says Caius, 'reigneth where there hath been long lack of issue.' Henri had none. Caius, as a physician, says much more of pet miniature spaniels than of terriers, because the science of his age held that the malady of a sick person might migrate into her lap-dog. This belief survives in France, if we may trust Gyp in her *Ces Bons Docteurs*. Caius's logic here shows a lack of scientific precision. Witches used to cause the maladies of their patrons to shift quarters into a beast, as the disease of Archbishop Adamson of St. Andrews (1580) into a white pony. But I am apt to regard this anecdote as a slanderous myth, invented by the superstition of the prelate's Presbyterian enemies, the Melvilles, Blacks, and Davidsons. The sheep-dog's personal appearance is not described; and we know not whether Caius refers to our collies, or to a tall, rough kind of terrier most common in the north of England. Little or nothing is said of the wonderful sagacity of the collie. That Caius should regard mastiffs as descended from 'the violent lion' shows a tendency rather erroneous to the theory of evolution. Mastiffs were used as water dogs, and for bear-baiting—Shallow's favourite sport. In an England populated by tramps, thanks to the dissolution of the monasteries and the wars, mastiffs had no sinecure.

The British bull-dog (unless he is 'the butcher's dog') seems to be ungraciously omitted. Probably he is the result of breeding with an eye to pinning the bull, in the humane sport of bull-baiting.

II

Dr. Dee's 'Petty Navy Royal' seems to have been written purely to back up Robert Hitchcock's 'Politick Plat.' The English Navy, in Dee's opinion, was inadequate to its many duties of patrolling the seas, protecting commerce and fisheries, putting down pirates, watching for hostile enterprises, spies, Catholic traffickers, and so forth. England was then much exposed to the adventures of French, Scottish, and Spanish agents of Mary Stuart and the Catholic powers which, more or less, favoured her cause. But great numbers of them were, as we know, actually taken and tortured. As for pirates, the Dunkirkers and others wrought much mischief, and were apt to be harboured in Scotland, as the English envoy, Nicholson, complained to James VI. But most of the pirates were English. The state papers (1580-1590) are full of remonstrances from the Scottish Government against the unspeakable cruelties and torments which English pirates inflicted on Scots, subjects of a friendly nation. The people of Anstruther, in Fife, manned a ship, pursued an English pirate, ran him to earth in Sussex, slew some of his men, seized others and hanged them at St. Andrews.[1] Private enterprise to put down foreign pirates was offered, for example, by Lord Willoughby, Governor of Berwick, in 1601, but was discouraged by Elizabeth's parsimonious

[1] *Memoirs of the Rev. James Melville.*

government, and Willoughby sold a half share of his ship to Logan of Restalrig, for purposes of adventure to America. The pirates were excellent recruits for Drake, and no doubt were useful in the resistance to the Spanish Armada.

Dee recognises their valuable qualities both on sea and land. Protection to fisheries from Dutch and other poachers was especially needed, and the Petty Navy would be a nursery for the official fleet. All this falls into line with the plat or scheme, long fostered by Robert Hitchcock, in Parliament, at public dinners, and in the pamphlet press. He indicates the unprosperous condition of England in the days of good Queen Bess; her decaying towns, her armies of the unemployed; he looks to the sea for the remedy, but his 'plat' is sorely in need of capital. The real question is, will moneyed men invest in his scheme, and his replies to objections probably did not persuade capitalists to risk their gold in a venture. Yet in pirating, and voyages to America, men were adventurous enough. The wealth of 'the Indies' was more alluring than perishable cargoes of cod and herrings.

III

People followed their taste in speculation, just as, despite Dr. William Turner, they would prefer strong French and Spanish wines to the less inflammatory Rhenish which he recommends in his letter to Cecil. They enjoyed wines 'of grosser and thicker substance, and hotter of complexion'; while we know that many starveling literary men died of a surfeit of Hitchcock and Turner's specifics, Rhenish wine and pickled herrings.

IV

Like Dr. Southey in Thackeray's ballad 'an LL.D. a peaceful man,' the Rev. William Harrison, B.D., had a love of military themes. He contrasts the unarmed state of England under Mary Tudor with the armaments of her sister Elizabeth. But against whom had England under Mary to be armed? She was the head of a Catholic state, and as politics were then merged in religion, had no quarrel with Catholic Spain, or Catholic France, or Scotland under the Catholic Mary of Guise. The disorders of the reign of Edward VI. had left Mary without money to pay the wages of her own household; how then could she arm, and against whom? Elizabeth, succeeding, and appearing as head of the chief Protestant power, might expect trouble from France, ultimately from Spain; and had at once to send men, money, artillery, and ammunition to aid the Scottish Lords of the Congregation against the Regent's Government and the French allies in Leith (1560). No Catholic power was likely to invade Mary Tudor's England; while under Elizabeth, France and Spain had endless *casus belli* in the cause of Mary Stuart, in the hope of placing her on Elizabeth's throne, and in revenge for English piracies. In these dangers the old English long bow was discarded and all the harquebuses and artillery described by Harrison took their place. The villages had armour and could turn out their tiny contingents. All men, even clergymen, carried daggers (in Scotland they occasionally used their whingers, as we know); many men had sword and buckler; the gentry practised the Italian school of fence, 'your passado, your punto reverso,' with long rapiers. All which much delights Harrison, B.D.

Yet we know that Elizabeth starved her fleet in the manner of 'the beggar who kept the cordite down,' as a recent balladmaker sings. The clutching avarice of Elizabeth would have ruined England, but fate was kind.

V

Richard Ferris was one of the spiritual ancestors of the people who now try to swim the Channel, or to cross the Atlantic in a Canadian canoe. He enjoyed the advantage of being an object of interest to a pirate, or so he says, and there is no other circumstance to note in his silly adventure.

VI

Hitchcock's essay on army rations has some interest, as he takes Berwick for his type of a garrison under Elizabeth. As we learn from the Border Papers, Berwickshire and the Lothians could have starved out the Berwick garrison simply by boycotting it, so the commanding officer rather nervously declared. How this could be, especially as England commanded the rear, and as Northumberland is not destitute of supplies, we find it difficult to conceive. Hitchcock speaks of buying grain from Yorkshire, Notts, and Lincolnshire, not from Scotland. The brew-house was of high importance. Before Flodden, Surrey's army almost mutinied for want of beer, and must have dispersed had James IV. remained on the defensive at Flodden Edge. His camp was very well seen in beer, which the victorious English tried and found excellent, says the Bishop of Durham. Much of the fish in Hitchcock's estimate comes from Shetland; whether taken by Scottish, Dutch, or

English fishers we do not know, but probably by Dutchmen, as a later tract indicates. With three common modern wine-bottles of double beer a day, the soldiers had little reason to grumble; in fact the rations seemed to contrast well with those of our own army. Lent, it will be seen, was still observed (as even in Puritan Scotland), from no religious motive, but (in Scotland) because beef and mutton were regarded as bad and out of season. This belief is repeatedly announced in the orders of the Scottish Privy Council. The same view is not urged here, in the English Privy Council's recommendation of fish days. Here the benefit of the fishing trade, and the discouragement of grazing, as against corn growing, are insisted on. Can Lent itself be derived from economic ideas like those of the Scots, christianised by the example of Our Lord's forty days of fasting? Mr. J. G. Frazer offers another suggestion: 'If the Carnival is the direct descendant of the Saturnalia, may not Lent in like manner be the continuation, under a thin disguise, of a period of temperance which was annually observed, from superstitious motives, by Italian farmers long before the Christian era.'[1] The Scots, we see, assigned another reason, the badness of beef and mutton in early spring. It seems desirable to collect the views of practical butchers. It is clear from the terms of the English proclamation that the Puritans objected to fish days as 'rags of Rome,' They are warned that religion has nothing to make in the matter; but the Scottish Privy Council, rather unexpectedly, allude to no Presbyterian scruple about Lent.

[1] *The Golden Bough*, iii. 145, 146.

VII

Kemp's Dance to Norwich is much like Ferris's row to Bristol (as far as taking the worst means of getting to his destination is concerned), but Ferris was an amateur, Kemp a professional, at one time a member of Shakespeare's company. Kemp was derided in ballads, and, in revenge, abuses the 'Shake-rag' balladmakers who supplied pedlars, like Shakespeare's Autolycus, with part of their wares. Those ballads were the newspapers of the people. They were political and sarcastic, as against Henry VIII. They gave accounts of events such as the death of Darnley, or they rhymed on Ferris, or on anything that attracted public attention, using up mermaids and other prodigies, or, later, the ghostly drummer of Tedworth, in the silly season. Here is a sample on the death of Riccio:

> 'Some lords in Scotland waxed wondrous wroth,
> And quarrelled with him for the nonce.
> I shall you tell how it befell;
> Twelve daggers were in him all att once.'

As for Darnley,

> 'Through halls and towers this king they led,
> Through castles and towers that were hye,
> Through an arbour into an orchard,
> And there hanged him on a peare tree.'

This ill-informed doggrel is clearly by one of Kemp's foes, the dregs of Elizabethan Grub Street. The ballad does not incriminate Darnley's wife, Queen Mary, for Queen Elizabeth might have taken that ill. In 1567 princes were not to be suspected by subjects. We have another ballad on the murder, by Tom Truepenny, in which Queen Mary is exculpated. This was written by some Catholic for political ends, ballads being then a kind of 'leading articles.'

Of course we must not infer that the romantic ballads, common in essentials of plot and incident to all Europe, were composed by the dregs of the scribblers of the capitals, the authors of rhymed 'leaders' on current events. But occasionally a good old folklore plot, like that of Bürger's *Lenore*, fell into the hands of a hack, who vamped it up for the stalls or the pedlars. One example is 'The Suffolk Tragedy,' another is the street ballad of *Lord Bateman*, illustrated by Cruikshank and Thackeray. Another stall ballad by a Shakerags deals in the most mythopoeic style with James VI. and Andrew Brown, who saved gentle King Jamie from the swords of 'Douglas' (Morton?), of the sheriff of Carlisle's son, and from the poison of the Bishop.

'"I slew the Bishop of St. Andrews,"
Quoth he, "with a posset in his hand."'

Now, if we compare the Scottish contemporary ballad on the slaying of the Earl of Murray (1592) we are in another world.

Ye Hielands and ye Lowlands,
Oh, where hae ye been,
They have slain the Earl o' Murray,
And they laid him on the green.
Oh, lang will his lady
Look ower the Castle Doune,
E'er she see the Earl o' Murray
Come sounding through the toun.

Or take

'Yestreen the Queen had four Maries,
This night she 'll hae but three,
There was Mary Seton, and Mary Beaton,
And Mary Carmichael and me!'

It appears to me that our Scottish ballads of the sixteenth century were either not made by the wastrels of Edinburgh, or that *our* wastrels were vastly better poets than the Shakerags of Kemp. Perhaps Mr. Henderson, the recent editor

of the *Border Minstrelsy*, may say that the merits of our ballads are due to Scott and others, who collected and altered them. The student may consult the texts and decide for himself.

Be this as it may, Kemp is a good fellow. Verily England then was Merry England, with her jolly butchers and brown maidens footing it along with Kemp and his taborer. The roads were rough and wet, pickpockets were flogged on the spot, no humanitarian was there to wince; but a merry heart goes all the way, and Kemp's was as merry as that of England, with his host who remembered Pinkie fight, that great slaughter of the Scots. He dedicates his adventure to Anne Fitton, sister of Queen Elizabeth's maid-of-honour, the famous Mary Fitton, dear to inquirers into the mystery of Shakspeare's sonnets, wherewith she had no more concern than jolly Kemp. He danced in April 1600, when Essex was plotting, when Bothwell was lost from men's eyes and ears—concerned in what conspiracy who knows?—when the young Earl of Gowrie had just landed from France, and was within three months of the mystery of his end; when Cecil was suspecting the designs of the King of Scots; *enfin*, when much mischief was brewing. But it is all one to Kemp, with 'his heart cork and his heels feathers.' The Puritans were turning from him, no doubt, with sour faces as he passed with his taborer and his brown maid, the companion of a mile. But it was not yet the day of the Puritans, not yet had the cloud fallen on England.[1]

[1] It appears from Kemp's remarks on 'Macdobeth' or 'Mac Somewhat,' that a play had been acted on Macbeth, and a ballad written on the 'stolen story.' At what date was this? Collier says that the ballad was registered in August 1596. We do not know whether the ballad-maker is accused of stealing the story from the play, or the playwright from Holinshed and Wyntoun. As it stands, Shakespeare's *Macbeth* is usually dated 1604-1606. One of its points is the rightfulness of the Stuart succession, through Banquo and Fleance, a

VIII

The aged countryman in King James's fifth year (1607-1608) durst and would go with King Harry to Boulogne, if King Harry came again. We think Henry VIII. 'a blotch of blood and grease on the page of English history,' but not so thought his people. On the frozen Thames they played football and exercised themselves at archery. Once in the crowd coming out of Lord's after an university match, I heard a man of the people say, with a sneer, 'And this is Merry England!' It did not seem so very gloomy; but at all events it was gay enough on the ice in 1608. The countryman draws a pathetic picture of rural misery in the frost, and the citizen proves that the Lottery, like the Turf to-day, is 'a vast engine of national demoralisation.' Life was not all beer and skittles even under gentle King Jamie.

IX

Nothing seems to be known of John Dennys, author of the poem on the 'Secrets of Angling,' which has been re-

reclaim purely mythical, the real ancestors of the Stewards or Seneschals of Scotland having been Alans, or Fitz Alans, seneschals of Dol, in Brittany, before the Norman Conquest. Kemp's words, however, point to a play of *Macbeth* before the accession of James I. If such a play existed, and contained reference to the royalty derived through Fleance, it must have been a feeler in favour of the succession of James VI. to Elizabeth. Now Essex, we know, before his raid on the City, preparatory to a raid on the Court, induced Shakespeare's company to play *Richard II.*, with its lesson of royal deposition. Essex was, to an uncertain extent, intriguing with James VI. to support his claims. Kemp's tract is of 1600, when these intrigues were active, and Elizabeth, after James's escape from the Gowrie Conspiracy (August 5, 1600), hinted broadly that she knew of schemes in his interest against herself (*Letters of Elizabeth and James*, pp. 132, 133. 1849). It may not be beyond the reach of conjecture that Shakespeare's company, about 1600, had put a *Macbeth* on the stage as a feeler in James's interests; for Kemp's 'Shakerags' is much in the style of Greene's 'Shakescene.' But this hint may too nearly approach the methods of Mrs. Gallup.

printed several times. Like the author of the old treatise commonly attributed to Dame Juliana Berners, Dennys was aware of the poetry of the waterside, though he never heard its music, the ringing reel, for the reel was unknown to Dennys, and unfamiliar to Walton. Dennys's defence of the charm of the river, and the river flowers, and the free air, is worthy of Walton, but as a practical angler, the poet takes a low place. Even in the sixteenth century, and perhaps much earlier, English anglers used the 'jury of flies' (artificial flies), of which Dame Juliana speaks, and which Walton borrows from her. Izaak was a bottom-fisher, and I doubt that he used worms and paste on the crystal Itchen, so Charles Cotton added to the really *Incompleat Angler*, his sequel on fly-fishing. In the same way William Lauson or Lawson appends to the 'Secrets' a few observations in prose; his attempt to design an artificial May fly is absurd, but he knows how to dress one. Of duns, spiders, gnats, and so forth, neither author has anything to say, and Lawson appears to have 'chucked and chanced it,' on standing water ruffled with a wind, where any bungler can catch trout. Cotton and Richard Franck were anglers who knew their business as well as we do, though they had to use horse-hair in place of gut. Indeed horse-hair was used as late as 1814, for the flies that Scott was searching for, when he found the half-forgotten first chapters of *Waverley*, were tied on two or three strands of white horse-hair. But Dennys and Walton are full of the poetry of the craft, for which Cotton and Franck had little taste. Wordsworth, Matthew Arnold, Hogg, Christopher North, and Thomas Tod Stoddart were good anglers, though great or estimable poets.

X

I am not disposed to linger over Thomas Gentleman's economic tract on 'Adventuring of Busses to Sea,' a title which sounds odd in modern ears. It is the old story of Dutch organisation, in the fishing trade, and of happy-go-lucky England. Shetland is the Dutchmen's fishing grounds, plain poachers are they, but England is heedless. It is the old problem of preserving our own waters, and exploiting the markets of the Hollanders. 'E. S.' supports Gentleman and Hitchcock with similar arguments, I am unaware whether he produced any useful results.

XI

King James's 'Book of Sports' is a famous document. Before going 'with a salmon-like instinct,' to his native Scotland, in 1617, there to harry the Kirk and sow the seeds that ripened in the Great Rebellion, King James had advised the people of Lancashire to play at honest games on Sunday, after church. It was in all ways better than fuddling in taverns, said the King. This was, and is, common sense, and even Calvin is said to have played bowls on Sunday, and John Knox looked on at a Sunday play, if I do not greatly err. But Puritans and Presbyterians kept growing more and more dour, putting down harmless amusements, and leaving the young men to the lassies and the ale-houses. These prohibitions King James resented and forbade in Lancashire, and so was traduced by Papists, and Puritans who much infested the country. The King even patronised May-poles and May merriments, which Stubbes[1] and other

[1] See his *Anatomie of Abuses*.

learned Puritans deemed to be relics of pagan agricultural magic. If they were, the rustics knew nothing about that; but the Nonconformist conscience objected even to bear-baiting, not because of the feelings of the bear, but because the public enjoyed it. The decoration of the churches with rushes was being put down, because churches ought to be homes of gloom, and of 'the hairt convinced o' sin.' The King's intervention did no good, but rather harm, as was not unnatural in Scotland. He had hurt the Presbyterian conscience to the quick, and now he laid a sacrilegious hand on 'the Sabbath,' the very Ark of the Covenant. So they accused James of poisoning his eldest son. A man who would patronise athletic sports on the Sabbath was *capable de tout.* Charles I. renewed his father's guilt, and so he came to a bad end.

XII

'Suppose that we had no Leather!' cries the anonymous pamphleteer on the leather trade, who declaims against exporting that article. He also regrets a 'French proud superfluity of galloshes,' and the wasteful 'immoderate tops of boots.' One pair of boots eats up six pair of shoes, at least 'of reasonable men's shoes.' Perhaps the shoes of unreasonable men were less easily devoured. Sumptuary laws and prohibition of exports are what the pamphleteer desires: his is not reckoned good political economy, but that is a perilous theme.

XIII

'The Carriers' Cosmography,' being a mere directory, and to the last degree obsolete, requires no particular comment. The post to Scotland went out once a week: how long

it took to cross Tweed we are not informed, but late in the eighteenth century it reached Edinburgh with only one letter from London.

XIV

Peacham's 'Worth of a Penny' is a rambling, discursive 'pot-boiler' by an unlucky scholar. He has not succeeded in keeping money himself: he finds it difficult or impossible to borrow; he is scurvily treated when he dines with 'his friends the aristocracy,' so he sets about teaching to others the thrift which he has not practised, the lucrative devices which he cannot use. His is a weak, rambling, discursive 'pot-boiler': his anecdotes are pointless: we read and are sorry for Mr. Peacham. He is said to have printed the book to give away: probably in hopes of substantial returns. That new editions, under the Restoration, were popular, does not say much for public taste, but illustrates the bad luck of Mr. Peacham. He was dead, and did not get the 'copy money,' the price, the royalties, or the glorious 'half-profits' to which modern authors, for some reason, entertain a chill aversion. The tale of the condemned Scot and Hollander who preferred work to the gallows, and of the Englishman who preferred the gallows to work—'his friends never brought him up to gather hops'—is characteristic. The heart expands towards that gentleman. The fact that, for a penny, 'you may have all the news in England,' is like an anticipation of our penny newspapers, though our witches do not occupy much space in the police news. But Peacham refers to Martin Parker's Ballads 'in the weekly news books,' ballads like those condemned by Kemp. In 1664 the penn'orth of coffee was added to the original text (1641?),

coffee had come in since the wars. We find the old reproach of rapid English changes in fashion, unlike the stereotyped costume of your Hollander or Spaniard. We followed the example of France, as our women still do, 'at least as far as they are able.' The learned are commended for being slovens, and indeed, even now, men of the pen are not conspicuously well dressed. You may go to the most fashionable tailor, but, he says, 'What is the use of dressing you, sir, when you *will* carry books in your pockets?' This course, to be sure, is not economical, nor apt to be applauded by Peacham. He is an author whose tract the world might willingly let die.

XV

'The Draining of the Great Level,' a work begun under James I., interrupted by the Great Rebellion, and resumed at the Restoration, was a vast and beneficent enterprise, and I hope that the Earl of Bedford got his money back. But the later history of the 'Great Level' is unfamiliar to me, at present, and may be found, by curious persons of leisure, among the MS. archives of the House of Russell, to which I have not access.

XVI

Leigh's 'Hints for Travellers' contains a point that was made matter of an ordinance by the Scottish Privy Council, 'that he be well grounded in the true religion; lest he be seduced and perverted.' He very often was, as in the case of the famous, or infamous, Master of Gray. The charms of 'Idolatry' were very attractive to young Protestant tourists. Few, like the learned Lipsius, devoted

their days to ruins and manuscripts: most were inclined to pleasurable vices.

> 'An Englishman that is Italianate
> Doth quickly prove a devil incarnate,'

said the current saw. The present reprint contains the gist of the first of Leigh's 'three Diatribes,' respectively on Travel, Coin, and Measuring. This curious work is reprinted in the tenth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*.

XVII

Wright on 'The Second Generation of English Professional Actors' is so valuable for the history of the stage that it needs a more expert commentator than I can pretend to be. Our drama, setting aside mysteries, moralities, and folk-mummeries, dates from the relatively peaceful age of Elizabeth. The second generation (1625-1670) was interrupted by the Great Rebellion, and the Puritanic prohibitions, and the third generation ought to reckon from the happy Restoration. Ben Jonson was out of date. As we learn, there were scores of new dramatic poets, known to Charles Lamb and Lord Macaulay. These were 'bright little modern pieces,' the pace was too good (according to the pamphlet) to inquire for the ponderous Ben, who never was popular. Yet Mr. Pepys, in the dawn of the Restoration, proclaims Ben's *Alchemist* to be 'a most incomparable play.' Many of Jonson's dramas were viewed by Mr. Pepys, so Wright must exaggerate his want of vogue. *The Silent Woman*, here said to have been refused by the Restoration actors, was played, and 'pleased me,' says Mr. Pepys. In 1668, Knipp had a part—Mr. Pepys's friend Mistress Knipp—and he calls it, 'the

best comedy, I think, that ever was wrote,' while he mentions *Henry IV.* merely as 'a piece of Henry IV.' Under Charles II. women took women's parts, which, in Elizabethan times and later, were acted by men or boys: Mohun acting 'Bellamente' even after the Restoration. The old Cavalier, in the tract, could not remember Alleyne and the rest, and Shakspeare, 'who, as I have heard, was a much better poet than player.' Such, indeed, is the tradition assailed by the queer 'Baconian' people. Would that we could call up Taylor, who 'acted Hamlet incomparably well.' I have never seen a player who succeeded much better with the Prince of Denmark than Mr. Wopsle in his 'massive and concrete' rendering of the part, for which consult *Great Expectations*, by Charles Dickens.

Five companies before the war—only two after Noll went to his own place—surprise Lovewit, perhaps the more as there used to be no 'scenes or machines.' How could such things as *The Tempest*, or *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, be played without machines, which the art of the age, as displayed in the pageants, was very capable of devising and constructing? Women players and scenes, it appears, came in with the Restoration, after many of the old players had fallen, sword in hand, in their master's cause. Truman successfully defends licensed players, with regular theatres, from the aspersion of being, legally, rogues and vagabonds. Only strollers came into these unfriendly categories. It was in 1647 that the godly, after breaking church windows and ornaments, destroyed theatres, and suppressed actors. But brief was the reign of the saints!

XVIII

The most vividly and painfully interesting of these tracts is Bion's 'Account of the Torments the French Protestants endure aboard the Galleys.' Bion (the name is odd, that of the Greek pastoral poet) was, it is true, a renegade. He had been a Catholic priest, and a chaplain on board one of the galleys of France. If the infernal cruelties which he saw inflicted on Protestants, for reasons of religion, he declares, and not because the victims were rebels from the Cevennes, made him abjure his creed, he might have taken up that of Islam. The Turks on the galleys were the best Christians in conduct. To torture people for their faith is an essential part of no religion, and we do not really know why Bion gave up his post, went to Geneva and turned Protestant. If he was moved by the constancy of the Huguenot martyrs, for they deserve the name, he might in America have seen no less courage among the Jesuits, then apt to be tortured to death by the Iroquois. For whatever reason he changed his creed, which implied leaving his country, Bion's evidence does not, to me, seem to be invalidated by his alteration in religious opinion. He asserts that he does not speak with the bitterness of a renegade, and he may be believed. His record is not overstrained. The government of Louis XIV. was guilty of the crimes described. Some Huguenot pastors were, as Bion says, in the prison of our old friend the Comte de Monte Cristo, in the Château d'If. Others shared the seclusion of the Man in the Iron Mask, in the Île Sainte Marguérite, opposite Cannes. They were kept *au secret*, in a solitude that drove some men mad. One of these pastors did write on his pewter plate and on his shirt, and threw them

out of window—the feats were falsely ascribed to the Man in the Iron Mask (a valet, one Eustache Auger), who was a prisoner at the time in the same fortress. The governor threatened the pastor with the lash, but we do not learn that it was inflicted. But, on the galley, Bion saw the Huguenots lashed for their religion. In 1548 Knox was in the galleys, and threw a picture of the Virgin overboard, at least he is thought to have been the hero of his own anecdote. But whoever did the deed suffered no penalty, and the brutes of the galleys of Louis XIV. were more ferocious than the galley officers of Henri II. At that earlier date the oarsmen were flogged, and it is said that Mary Stuart interceded for them. But no words can blacken the brutalities of the persecutions under Louis XIV. deeper than they are branded by the simple record of Bion. His account of the floating hells deserves perpetual memory. Louis XIV., by the persecutions, and by revoking the Edict of Nantes, 'broke his luck,' which had been so splendid, and enriched England and Holland with thousands of his most valuable subjects. The *Ancien Régime* never rallied from the self-inflicted blow, the suicidal policy. But the penalty fell late, and on guiltless heads, in the Reign of Terror.

ANDREW LANG.

Of English Dogs,

the diversities, the names,
the natures, and the properties.

A Short

Treatise written in Latin
by JOHANNES CAIUS of late memory, Doctor of Physic in the University of Cambridge.

And newly drawn into English by ABRAHAM FLEMING Student.

Natura etiam in brutis vim ostendit suam.

Seen and allowed.

¶ Imprinted at London by Richard Johnes, and are to be sold over against S. Sepulchres Church without Newgate.

1576.

¶ A Prosopopoical Speech of the Book.

OME tell of stars th'influence strange,
Some tell of birds which fly in th'air,
Some tell of beasts on land which range,
Some tell of fish in rivers fair,
Some tell of serpents sundry sorts,
Some tell of plants the full effect:
Of English Dogs, I sound reports;
Their names and natures I detect.
My forehead is but bald and bare,
But yet my body 's beautiful:
For pleasant flowers in me there are,
And not so fine as plentiful.
And though my garden plot so green,
Of Dogs receive the trampling feet;
Yet is it swept and kept full clean,
So that it yields a savour sweet.

ABRAHAM FLEMING.

To the well disposed Reader.

AS EVERY manifest effect proceedeth from some certain cause, so the penning of this present Abridgment (gentle and courteous Reader) issued from a special occasion. For CONRADUS GENESRUS, a man, whiles he lived, of incomparable knowledge and manifold experience, being never satisfied with the sweet sap of understanding; requested JOHANNES CAIUS, a profound clerk and a ravenous devourer of learning (to his praise be it spoken, though the language be somewhat homely) to write a Breviary or Short Treatise of such dogs as were engendered within the borders of England. To the contentation of whose mind and the utter accomplishment of whose desire, CAIUS spared no study (for the acquaintance, which was between them, as it was confirmed by continuance, and established upon unfeignedness; so was it sealed with virtue and honesty) withdrew himself from no labour, repined at no pains, forsook no travail, refused no endeavour, finally, pretermitted no opportunity nor circumstance which seemed pertinent and requisite to the performance of this little libel [*tract*].

In the whole Discourse whereof, the book, to consider the substance, being but a pamphlet or scantling; the argument not so fine and affected, and yet the doctrine very profitable and necessary, he useth such a smooth and comely style and tieth his invention to such methodical and orderly proceed-

ings, as the elegantness and neatness of his Latin phrase (being pure, perfect, and unmingled) maketh the matter, which of itself is very base and clubbish, to appear, shall I say, tolerable; nay, rather commendable and effectual.

The sundry sorts of English dogs he discovereth so evidently, their natures he rippeth up so apparently, their manners he openeth so manifestly, their qualities he declareth so skilfully, their proportions he painteth out so perfectly, their colours he describeth so artificially; and knitteth all these in such shortness and brevity, that the mouth of the adversary must needs confess and give sentence that commendation ought to be his reward, and praise his deserved pension.

An ignorant man would never have been drawn into this opinion, to think that there had been in England such variety and choice of dogs; in all respects (not only for name, but also for quality) so diverse and unlike. But what cannot learning attain? what cannot the key of knowledge open? what cannot the lamp of understanding lighten? what secrets cannot discretion detect? finally, what cannot experience comprehend? what huge heaps of histories hath GESNERUS hoarded up in volumes of large size? Fishes in floods, cattle on land, birds in the air; how hath he sifted them, by their natural difference? how closely, and in how narrow a compass, hath he couched mighty and monstrous beasts, in bigness like mountains; the books themselves being lesser than mole hills, [shew.] The life of this man was not so great a restority of comfort, as his death was an ulcer or wound of sorrow. The loss of whom, CAIUS lamented, not so much as he was his faithful friend, as for that he was a famous Philosopher; and yet the former reason (being, in very deed, vehement and forcible) did sting him with more grief, than he, peradventure, was willing to disclose. And though death be counted terrible for the time, and consequently unhappy: yet CAIUS avoucheth the death of GESNER most blessed, lucky, and fortunate, as in this book, intituled *De libris propriis*, appeareth.

But of these two Eagles sufficient is spoken, as I suppose; and yet little enough in consideration of their dignity and worthiness. Nevertheless little or mickle, something or nothing, substance or shadow, take all in good part! my meaning is, by a few words to win credit to this work; not so much for mine own English translation as for the singular commendation of them, challenged of duty and desert.

Wherefore, gentle Reader! I commit them to thy memory! and their books, to thy courteous censure! They were both learned men, and painful practitioners in their professions; so much the more therefore are their works worthy estimation. I would it were in me to advance them as I wish; the worst (and yet both, no doubt, excellent) hath deserved a monument of immortality.

Well, there is no more to be added but this, that as the translation of this book was attempted, finished, and published of good will (not only to minister pleasure, as to afford profit); so it is my desire and request that my labour therein employed may be acceptable; as I hope it shall be to men of indifferent judgement. As for such as shall snar and snatch at the English Abridgment, and tear the Translator, being absent, with the teeth of spiteful envy; I conclude, in brevity, their eloquence is but currish, if I serve in their meat with wrong sauce, ascribe it not to unskilfulness in cookery, but to ignorance in their diet, for as the poet saith—

Non satis est ars sola coquo, servire palato:
Namque coquus domini debet habere gulam:

It is not enough that a cook understand;
Except his Lord's stomach, he hold in his hand.

To wind up all in a watchword, I say no more, but "Do well! and fare well!"

His and his friends!

ABRAHAM FLEMING.

The first Section of this Discourse.

¶ *The Preamble or Entrance into this Treatise.*

I WROTE unto you, well beloved friend GESNER! not many years past, a manifold history: containing the divers forms and figures of beasts, birds, and fishes; the sundry shapes of plants, and the fashions of herbs.

I wrote moreover, unto you severally, a certain Abridgment of Dogs, which, in your Discourse upon "the forms of beasts in the second Order of mild and tameable beasts," where you make mention of Scottish dogs, and in the winding up of your letter written and directed to Doctor TURNER, comprehending a catalogue or rehearsal of your books not yet extant, you promised to set forth in print, and openly to publish in the face of the world; among such your works as are not yet come abroad to light and sight. But because certain circumstances were wanting in my Breviary of English Dogs, as seemed unto me, I stayed the publication of the same; making promise to send another abroad, which might be committed to the hands, the eyes, the ears, the minds, and the judgements of the readers.

Wherefore, that I might perform that precisely, which I

promised solemnly, accomplish my determination, and satisfy your expectation; which art a man desirous and capable of all kinds of knowledge, and very earnest to be acquainted with all experiments: I will express and declare, in due order, the grand and general kind of English Dogs, the difference of them, the use, the properties, and the divers natures of the same; making a tripartite division in this sort and manner.

All English Dogs be either of
- A gentle kind, serving the game.
- A homely kind, apt for sundry necessary uses.
- A currish kind, meet for many toys.

Of these three sorts or kinds so mean I to intreat, that the first in the first place, the last in the last room, and the middle sort in the middle seat be handled.

CALL them, universally, all by the name of English Dogs, as well because England only, as it hath in it English dogs, so it is not without Scottish; as also for that we are more inclined and delighted with the noble game of hunting; for we Englishmen are addicted and given to that exercise, and painful pastime of pleasure; as well for the plenty of flesh which our parks and forests do foster, as also for the opportunity and convenient leisure which we obtain. Both [of] which, the Scots want. Wherefore seeing that the whole estate of kindly hunting consisteth principally

In these two points
- In chasing the beast
- In taking the bird

that is in
- hunting
- fowling

It is necessary and requisite to understand, that there are two sorts of dogs; by whose means, the feats within specified are wrought, and these practices of activity cunningly and curiously compassed.

Two kinds of dogs
- One which rouseth the beast, and continueth the chase.
- Another which springeth the bird, and bewrayeth the flight by pursuit.

Both which kinds are termed of the Latins, by one common name, that is, *Canes Venatici*, "hunting dogs." But because we English men make a difference between hunting and fowling: for that they are called by these several words, *Venatio et Aucupium*, so they term the dogs whom they use in these sundry games by divers names; as those which serve for the beast, are called *Venatici*, the others which are used for the fowl, are called *Aucupatorii*.

The first kind, called *Venatici*, I divide into five sorts, excelleth.
- The first in perfect smelling
- The second in quick spying
- The third in swiftness and quickness
- The fourth in smelling and nimbleness
- The fifth in subtilty and deceitfulness

Of the dog, called an Harrier; in Latin, Leverarius.

THAT kind of dog whom Nature hath endued with the virtue of smelling, whose property it is to use a lustiness, a readiness, and a courageousness in hunting; and draweth into his nostrils the air of scent of the beast pursued and followed: we call by the word *Sagax* [*i.e., keen scented*], the Grecians by this word ἰχνευτής, of tracing or chasing by the foot, or ῥινήλατος, of the nostrils, which be the instruments of smelling.

We may know this kind of dogs by their long, large, and bagging lips; by their hanging ears, reaching down both sides of their chaps; and by the indifferent and measurable proportion of their making. This sort of dogs, we call *Leverarius*, Harriers.

That I may comprise the whole number of them in certain specialities, and apply to them their proper and peculiar names; for so much as they cannot all be reduced and brought under one sort, considering both the sundry uses of them, and the difference of their service whereto they be appointed.

Some for { The hare. / The fox. / The wolf. / The hart. / The buck. / The badger. / The otter. / The polecat. / The lobster. / The weasel. / The cony, &c. } Some for one thing, and some for another.

As for the cony [*rabbit*], whom we have lastly set down; we use not to hunt, but rather to take it, sometimes with the net, sometimes with a ferret: and thus every several sort is notable and excellent in his natural quality and appointed practice.

Among these sundry sorts, there be some which are apt to hunt two divers beasts, as the foxe other-whiles, and other-whiles the hare; but they hunt not with such towardness, and good luck after them, as they do that whereunto Nature hath framed them, not only in external composition and making, but also in inward faculties and conditions: for they swerve oftentimes, and do otherwise then they should.

Of a dog, called a Terrier; in Latin, Terrarius.

ANOTHER sort there is, which hunteth the Fox and the Badger or Grey only, whom we call Terriers; because they (after the manner and custom of ferrets, in searching for Conies) creep into the ground, and by that means make afraid, nip, and bite the fox and the badger in such sort, that either they tear them in pieces with their teeth being in the bosom of the earth, or else haul and pull them, perforce, out of their lurking angles, dark dungeons, and close caves, or at least through conceived fear, drive them out of their hollow harbours: in so much that they are compelled to prepare speedy flight, and being desirous of the next, albeit not the safest refuge, are otherwise taken and entrapped with snares and nets laid over their holes to the same purpose. But these be the least in that kind, called *Sagax*.

Of the dog, called a Bloodhound; in Latin, Sanguinarius.

THE greater sort which serve to hunt, having lips of a large size, and ears of no small length, do not only chase the beast whiles it liveth, as the others do of whom mention is above made; but, being dead also by any manner of casualty, make recourse to the place where it lieth: having in this point an assured and infallible guide, namely, the scent and favour of the blood sprinkled here and there upon the ground. For whether the beast being wounded, doth notwithstanding enjoy life, and escapeth the hands of the huntsman; or whether the said beast being slain is conveyed cleanly out of the park (so that there be some signification of bloodshed) these dogs, with no less facility and easiness than avidity and greediness, can disclose and betray the same by smelling: applying to their pursuit, agility and nimbleness, without tediousness. For which consideration, of a singular specialty they deserve to be called *Sanguinarii*, Blood-hounds.

And albeit peradventure it may chance (as whether it chanceth seldom or sometimes, I am ignorant) that a piece of flesh be subtilly stolen and cunningly conveyed away, with such provisoes and pre-caveats as thereby all appearance of blood is either prevented, excluded or concealed; yet this kind of dogs, by a certain direction of an inward assured notice and privy mark, pursue the deed doers, through long lanes, crooked reaches, and weary ways, without wandering away out of the limits of the land whereon these desperate purloiners prepared their speedy passage.

Yea, the natures of these dogs is such, and so effectual is their foresight, that they can bewray, separate, and pick them out from among an infinite multitude and an innumerable company, creep they never as far into the thickest throng: they will find him out, notwithstanding he lie hidden in wild woods, in close and overgrown groves, and lurk in hollow holes apt to harbour such ungracious guests. Moreover, although they should pass over the water, thinking thereby to avoid the pursuit of the hounds; yet will not these dogs give over their attempt, but presuming to swim through the stream, persevere in their pursuit: and when they be arrived and gotten [on] the further bank, they hunt up and

down; to and fro run they; from place to place, shift they; until they have attained to that plot of ground, where they passed over. And this is their practice, if, perdie, they cannot at first time, smelling, find out the way which the deed doers took to escape. So, at length, get they that by art, cunning, and diligent endeavour; which by fortune and luck, they cannot otherwise overcome. Insomuch as it seemeth worthily and wisely written by ÆLIANUS in his First Book, and thirty-ninth Chapter, *Τὸ ἐνθῦματικον καὶ διαλεκτικόν*, to be as it were naturally instilled and poured into this kind of dogs. For they will not pause or breathe from their pursuit until such time as they be apprehended and taken, which committed the fact.

The owners of such hounds use [*are accustomed*] to keep them in close and dark channels in the daytime, and let them loose at liberty in the night season: to the intent that they might, with more courage and boldness, practise to follow the felon in the evening and solitary hours of darkness, when such ill-disposed varlets are principally purposed to play their impudent pageants and imprudent pranks. These hounds, upon whom this present portion of our treatise runneth, when they are to follow such fellows as we have before rehearsed, use not that liberty to range at will, which they have otherwise when they are in game, (except upon necessary occasion, whereon dependeth an urgent and effectual persuaison) when such purloiners make speedy way in flight; but being restrained and drawn back from running at random with the leasse [*leash*], the end whereof the owner holding in his hand, is led, guided and directed with such swiftness and slowness (whether he go on foot, or whether he ride on horseback) as he himself in heart would wish, for the more easy apprehension of these venturous varlets.

In the borders of England and Scotland (the often and accustomed stealing of cattle so procuring) this kind of dogs is very much used; and they are taught and trained up, first of all to hunt cattle, as well of the smaller as of the greater growth; and afterwards (that quality relinquished and left) they are learned to pursue such pestilent persons as plant their pleasure in such practices of purloining, as we have already declared.

Of this kind there is none that taketh the water naturally:

except it please you so to suppose of them which follow the Otter; which sometimes haunt the land, and sometime useth the water. And yet, nevertheless, all the kind of them boiling and broiling with greedy desire of the prey, which by swimming passeth through river and flood; plunge amidst the water, and pass the stream with their paws: But this property proceedeth from an earnest desire wherewith they be inflamed; rather than from any inclination issuing from the ordinance and appointment of Nature. And albeit some of this sort in English be called *Brache*, in Scottish *Rache:* the cause hereof resteth in the she sex, and not in the general kind. For we Englishmen call bitches, belonging to the hunting kind of dogs, by the term above mentioned.

To be short, it is proper to the nature of hounds, some to keep silence in hunting until such time as there is game offered. Other some, so soon as they smell out the place where the beast lurketh, to bewray it immediately by their importunate barking; notwithstanding it be far off many furlongs, couching close in its cabin. And these dogs, the younger they be, the more wantonly bark they; and the more liberally, yet ofttimes without necessity: so that in them, by reason of their young years and want of practice, small certainty is to be reposed. For continuance of time, and experience in game, ministreth to these hounds not only cunning in running, but also, as in the rest, an assured foresight what is to be done; principally, being acquainted with their master's watchwords, either in revoking or emboldening them to serve the game.

Of the dog, called Gazehound; in Latin, Agaseus.

THIS kind of dog, which pursueth by the eye, prevaileth little, or never a whit, by any benefit of the nose, that is by smelling; but excelleth in perspicuity and sharpness of sight altogether: by the virtue whereof, being singular and notable, it hunteth the fox and the hare. This dog will choose and separate any beast from among a great flock or herd, and such a one will it take by election as is not lank, lean, and hollow, but well spread, smooth, full, fat, and round. It follows by the direction of the eyesight which

indeed is clear, constant, and not uncertain. If a beast be wounded and gone astray; this dog seeketh after it by the steadfastness of the eye. If it chance peradventure to return bemingled with the residue of the flock; this dog spyeth it out by the virtue of his eye, leaving the rest of the cattle untouched, and after he hath set sure sight upon it he separateth it from the company and having so done never ceaseth until he hath wearied the beast to death. Our countrymen call this dog *Agasæum*, a Gaze Hound: because the beams of his sight are so steadfastly settled and unmovably fastened.

These dogs are much and usually occupied in the Northern parts of England more than in the Southern parts; and in fieldy lands rather than in bushy and woody places. Horsemen use them more than footmen, in the intent that they might provoke their horses to a swift gallop (wherewith they are more delighted than with the prey itself) and that they might accustom their horse to leap over hedges and ditches, without stop or stumble, without harm or hazard, without doubt or danger, and so escape with safeguard of life.

And to the end that the riders themselves (when necessity so constrained, and the fear of further mischief enforced) might save themselves undamnified [*unharmed*] and prevent each perilous tempest by preparing speedy flight, or else by swift pursuit made upon their enemies, might both overtake them, encounter with them, and make a slaughter of them accordingly. But if it fortune so at any time that this dog take wrong way, the master making some usual sign and familiar token, he returneth forthwith, and taketh the right and ready trace; beginning his chase afresh, and with a clear voice and a swift foot followeth the game, with as much courage and nimbleness as he did at the first.

Of the dog, called the Greyhound; in Latin, Leporarius.

THERE is another kind of dog which, for his incredible swiftness, is called *Leporarius*, a Greyhound; because the principal service of them dependeth and consisteth in starting and hunting the hare: which dogs likewise are endued with no less strength than lightness in maintenance of the game, in serving the chase, in taking the

buck, the hart, the doe, the fox, and other beasts of semblable kind ordained for the game of hunting. But more or less, each one according to the measure and proportion of their desire; and as might and hability of their bodies will permit and suffer. For it is a spare and bare kind of dog (of flesh, but not of bone): some are of a greater sort and some lesser; some are smooth skinned, and some are curled. The bigger therefore are appointed to hunt the bigger beasts, and the smaller serve to hunt the smaller accordingly.

The nature of these dogs I find to be wonderful by the testimonial of histories. For as JEAN FROISSART the Historiographer in his 4. *lib.* reporteth. A Greyhound of King RICHARD the SECOND, that wore the crown, and bare the sceptre of the Realm of England; never knowing any man, beside the King's person; when HENRY, Duke of LANCASTER came to the castle of Flint to take King RICHARD: the dog forsaking his former lord and master, came to Duke HENRY, fawned upon him with such resemblances of goodwill and conceived affection, as he favoured King RICHARD before: he followed the Duke, and utterly left the King. So that by these manifest circumstances a man might judge this dog to have been lightened with the lamp of foreknowledge and understanding, touching his old master's miseries to come, and unhappiness nigh at hand: which King RICHARD himself evidently perceived; accounting this deed of his dog, a prophecy of his overthrow.

Of the dog, called Leviner or Lyemmer; in Latin, Lorarius.

ANOTHER sort of dogs be there, in smelling singular, and in swiftness incomparable. This is, as it were, a middle kind betwixt the Harrier and the Greyhound; as well for his kind, as for the frame of his body. And it is called in Latin, *Lovinarius*, "a Levitate," of lightness; and therefore may well be called a Lighthound. It is also called by this word *Lorarius*, *a Loro* [*a thong*], wherewith it is led. This dog for the excellency of his conditions; namely smelling and swift running, doth follow the game with more eagerness, and taketh the prey with a jolly quickness.

Of the dog, called a Tumbler; in Latin, Vertagus.

THIS sort of dogs, which compasseth all by crafts, frauds, subtilties 'and deceits, we Englishmen call "Tumblers;" because, in hunting, they turn and tumble, winding their bodies about in circle wise, and then fiercely and violently venturing upon the beast, doth suddenly gripe it, at the very entrance and mouth of their receptacles or closets, before they can recover means to save and succour themselves.

This dog useth another craft and subtilty, namely, when he runneth into a warren, or fetteth a course about a cony [*rabbit*]burrow, he hunts not after them, he [af]frays them not by barking, he makes no countenance or shadow of hatred against them: but dissembling friendship and pretending favour, passeth by, with silence and quietness, marking and noting their holes diligently; wherein, I warrant you! he will not be overshot nor deceived.

When he cometh to the place where conies be of a certainty, he coucheth down close with his belly to the ground; providing always by his skill and policy, that the wind be never with him but against him in such an enterprise; and that the conies spy him not, where he lurketh. By which means he obtaineth the scent and savour of the conies, carried towards him with the wind and the air, either going to their holes, or coming out, either passing this way, or running that way: and so provideth by his circumspection, that the silly simple cony is debarred quite from his hole (which is the haven of their hope and the harbour of their health); and fraudulently circumvented and taken, before they can get the advantage of their hole. Thus having caught his prey he carrieth it speedily to his master, waiting his dog's return in some convenient lurking corner.

These dogs are somewhat lesser than the hounds, and they be lanker and leaner; besides that, they be somewhat prick eared. A man that shall mark the form and fashion of their bodies, may well call them mongrel Greyhounds, if they were somewhat bigger. But notwithstanding they countervail not the Greyhound in greatness; yet will he take

in one day's space as many conies as shall arise to as big a burden and as heavy a load as a horse can carry: for deceit up and guile is the instrument whereby he maketh this spoil; which pernicious properties supply the place of more commendable qualities.

Of the dog, called the Thievish dog; in Latin, Canis furax.

THE like to that whom we have rehearsed, is the Thievish Dog, which at the mandate and bidding of his master fleereth and leereth about in the night: hunting conies by the air, which is leavened with their savour; and conveyed to the sense of smelling by the means of the wind blowing towards him. During all which space of his hunting he will not bark, lest he should be prejudicial to his own advantage. And thus watching and snatching up in course as many conies as his master will suffer him; and beareth them to his master's standing. The farmers of the country, and uplandish dwellers, call this kind of dog a Night Cur; because he hunteth in the dark.

But let thus much seem sufficient for dogs which serve the game and sport of hunting.

¶ A DIAL PERTAINING TO THE FIRST SECTION.

Dogs serving as pastime of hunting beasts.	are divided into	Harriers. Terriers. Bloodhounds. Gazehounds. Leviners or Lyemmers. Tumblers. Stealers.	In Latin, called *Venatici.*

The Second Section of this Discourse.

Of gentle dogs serving the Hawk: and first of the Spaniel; called in Latin, Hispaniolus.

SUCH dogs as serve for Fowling, I think convenient and requisite to place in this Second Section of this Treatise. These are also to be reckoned and accounted in the number of the dogs which come of a gentle kind; and of those which serve for fowling.

There be two sorts { The first findeth game on the land. / The other findeth game on the water.

Such as delight on the land, play their parts, either by swiftness of foot, or by often questing, to search out and to spring the bird for further hope of advantage; or else by some secret sign and privy token bewray the place where they fall.

The first kind of such serve	The Hawk.
The second	The net, or train.

The first kind have no peculiar names assigned unto them, save only that they be denominated after the bird which, by natural appointment, he is allotted to take, for the which consideration.

Some be called Dogs { For the Falcon / The Pheasant / The Partridge } and such like.

The common sort of people call them by one general word, namely, Spaniels. As though this kind of dogs came

originally, and first of all, out of Spain. The most part of their skins is white, and if they be marked with any spots, they are commonly red, and somewhat great therewithal, the hairs not growing in such thickness but that the mixture of them may easily be perceived. Other some of them be reddish and blackish; but of that sort there be but a very few.

There is also, at this day among us, a new kind of dog brought out of France (for we Englishmen are marvellously greedy gaping gluttons after novelties, and covetous cormorants of things that be seldom, rare, strange, and hard to get), and they be speckled all over with white and black, which mingled colours incline to a marble blue; which beautifieth their skins, and affordeth a seemly show of comeliness. These are called French dogs, as is above declared already.

The dog, called the Setter; in Latin, Index.

NOTHER sort of dogs be there, serviceable for Fowling, making no noise either with foot or with tongue whiles they follow the game. They attend diligently upon their master, and frame their conditions to such becks, motions, and gestures, as it shall please him to exhibit and make; either going forward, drawing backward, inclining to the right hand, or yielding toward the left. In making mention of fowls; my meaning is, of the partridge and the quail. When he hath found the bird, he keepeth sure and fast silence, he stayeth his steps and will proceed no further; and with a close, covert, watching eye, layeth his belly to the ground, and so creepeth forward like a worm. When he approacheth near to the place where the bird is, he lays him down, and with a mark of his paws betrayeth the place of the bird's last abode; whereby it is supposed that this kind of dog is called *Index*, "Setter," being indeed a name most consonant and agreeable to his quality.

The place being known by the means of the dog, the fowler immediately openeth and spreadeth his net, intending to take them; which being done, the dog at the accustomed beck or usual sign of his master riseth up by and by, and draweth nearer to the fowl that by his presence they might be the authors of their own ensnaring, and be ready entangled in

the prepared net. Which cunning and artificial endeavour in a dog (being a creature domestical, or household servant; brought up at home with offals of the trencher and fragments of victuals) is not much to be marvelled at, seeing that a hare—being a wild and skippish beast—was seen in England to the astonishment of the beholders, in the year of our Lord GOD 1564, not only dancing in measure, but playing with his former feet upon a tabaret, and observing a just number of strokes, as a practitioner in that art; beside that, nipping and pinching a dog with his teeth and claws, and cruelly thumping him with the force of his feet.

This is no trumpery tale nor trifling toy as I imagine and therefore not unworthy to be reported, for I reckon it a requital of my travail, not to drown in the seas of silence any special thing, wherein the providence and effectual working of Nature is to be pondered.

Of the dog, called the Water Spaniel, or Finder; in Latin, Aquaticus, seu Inquisitor.

THAT kind of dog whose service is required in fowling upon the water, partly through a natural towardness, and partly by diligent teaching, is endued with that property. This sort is somewhat big, and of a measurable greatness; having long, rough, and curled hair, not obtained by extraordinary trades, but given by Nature's appointment: yet nevertheless, friend GESNER! I have described and set him out in this manner, namely, pulled and knotted from the shoulders to the hindermost legs, and to the end of his tail, which I did for use and custom's cause; that being as it were made somewhat bare and naked, by shearing of such superfluity of hair, they might achieve more lightness and swiftness, and be less hindered in swimming, so troublesome and needless a burden being shaken off.

This kind of dog is properly called *Aquaticus*, a "Water Spaniel" because he frequenteth and hath usual recourse to the water, where all his game and exercise lieth; namely, waterfowls, which are taken by the help and service of them, in their kind. And principally ducks and drakes, whereupon he is likewise named "a Dog for the Duck," because in that quality he is excellent. With these dogs also, we fetch out of the

water such fowl as be stung to death by any venomous worm. We use them also to bring us our bolts and arrows out of the water, missing our mark whereat we directed our level; which otherwise we should hardly recover: and oftentimes they restore to us our shafts, which we thought never to see, touch or handle again, after they were lost; for which circumstances they are called *Inquisitores*, "Searchers," and "Finders."

Although the duck other whiles notably deceiveth both the dog and the master, by diving under the water: and also by natural subtilty; for if any man shall approach to the place where they build, breed, and sit, the hens go out of their nest, offering themselves voluntarily to the hands, as it were, of such as draw nigh their nests. And a certain weakness of their wings pretended, and infirmity of their feet dissembled, they go so slowly and so leisurely, that to a man's thinking it were no masteries to take them. By which deceitful trick, they do, as it were, entice and allure men to follow them, till they be drawn a long distance from their nests: which being compassed by their provident cunning, or cunning providence, they cut off all inconveniences which might grow of their return, by using many careful and curious caveats; lest their often haunting bewray the place, where the young ducklings be hatched. Great therefore is their desire, and earnest is their study to take heed, not only to their brood, but also to themselves. For when they have an inkling that they are espied, they hide themselves under turfs and sedges, wherewith they cover and shrowd themselves so closely and so craftily, that (notwithstanding the place where they lurk be found and perfectly perceived) there they will harbour without harm; except the Water Spaniel, by quick smelling, discover their deceits.

Of the dog, called the Fisher; in Latin, Canis Piscator.

THE Dog called the Fisher, whereof HECTOR BOETHEUS writeth, which seeketh for fish by smelling among rock and stone; assuredly, I know none of that kind in England, neither have I received by report that there is any such: albeit I have been diligent and busy in demanding the question, as well of fishermen, as also of huntsmen in that

behalf, being careful and earnest to learn and understand of them if any such were: except that you hold opinion that the Beaver or Otter is a fish, as many have believed, and according to their belief affirmed; and as the bird Pupine [? *Puffin*] is thought to be a fish, and so accounted.

But that kind of dog which followeth the fish, to apprehend and take it; if there be any of that disposition and property, whether they do this for the game of hunting, or for the heat of hunger, as other dogs do (which rather than they will be famished for want of food, covet the carcases of carrion and putrifying flesh): when I am fully resolved and disburdened of this doubt, I will send you certificate in writing.

In the mean season, I am not ignorant of that both ÆLIANUS and ÆLIUS, call the Beaver, *Κύναποτάμιον*, a Water Dog, or a Dog Fish. I know likewise thus much more, that the Beaver [*Otter*] both participate this property with the dog, namely, that when fish be scarce they leave the water and range up and down the land; making an insatiable slaughter of young lambs until their paunches be replenished: and when they have fed themselves full of flesh; then return they to the water, from whence they came. But albeit so much be granted that this Beaver is a dog; yet it is to be noted that we reckon it not in the beadrow of English Dogs, as we have done the rest.

The Sea Calf, in like manner, which our countrymen, for brevity sake, called a Seal, others, more largely, name a Sea Veal, maketh a spoil of fish between rocks and banks: but it is not accounted in the catalogue or number of our English Dogs; notwithstanding we call it by the name of Sea Dog, or a Sea Calf.

And thus much for our dogs of the Second Sort, called in Latin *Aucupatorii*, serving to take Fowl, either by land or water.

¶ A DIAL PERTAINING TO THE SECOND SECTION.

Dogs serving the disport of Fowling.	are divided into	Land Spaniels. Setters. Water Spaniels or Finders.	called in Latin *Canes Aucupatorii.*	The Fisher is not of their number; but several.

The Third Section of this Abridgment.

NOw followeth, in due order and convenient place, our English dogs of the third Gentle Kind, what they are called, to what use they serve, and what sort of people plant their pleasure in them: which because they need no curious canvassing and nigh sifting, we mean to be much the briefer.

Of the delicate, neat, and pretty kind of dogs, called the Spaniel gentle, or the Comforter; in Latin, Melitæus *or* Fotor.

THERE is, besides those which we have already delivered, another sort of Gentle Dogs in this our English soil, but exempted from the order of the residue. The dogs of this kind, doth CALLIMACHUS call *Melitæos*, of the island *Melita*, in the sea of Sicily (which at this day is named Malta; an island, indeed, famous and renowned, with courageous and puissant soldiers valiantly fighting under the banner of CHRIST, their unconquerable Captain), where this kind of dog had their principal beginning.

These dogs are little, pretty proper, and fine; and sought for to satisfy the delicateness of dainty dames, and wanton women's wills, instruments of folly for them to play and dally withal, to trifle away the treasure of time, to withdraw their minds from more commendable exercises, and to content their corrupted concupiscences with vain desport. A silly shift, to shirk irksome idleness! These puppies the smaller they be, the more pleasure they provoke, as more meet playfellows

for mincing mistresses to bear in their bosoms, to keep company withal in their chambers, to succour with sleep in bed, and nourish with meat at board, to lay in their laps, and lick their lips as they ride in their waggons: and good reason it should be so, for coarseness with fineness hath no friendship; but featness with neatness hath neighbourhood enough. That plausible proverb verified upon a tyrant, namely "that he loved his sow, better than his son," may well be applied to this kind of people; who delight more in dogs, that are deprived of all possibility of reason, than they do in children that be capable of wisdom and judgement. But this abuse, peradventure, reigneth where there hath been long lack of issue; or else, where barrenness is the best blossom of beauty.

The virtue which remaineth in the Spaniel gentle, otherwise called the Comforter.

NOTWITHSTANDING, many make much of those pretty puppies called "Spaniels gentle"; yet if the question were demanded what property in them they spy, which should make them so acceptable and precious in their sight? I doubt their answer would be long a coining. But seeing it was our intent to travail in this Treatise, so that the reader might reap some benefit by his reading, we will communicate unto you such conjectures as are grounded upon reason. And though some suppose that such dogs are fit for no service, I dare say, by their leaves! they be in a wrong box.

Among all other qualities, therefore, of Nature, which be known (for some conditions are covered with continual and thick clouds, that the eye of our capacities cannot pierce through them) we find that these little dogs are good to assuage the sickness of the stomach, being often times thereunto applied as a plaster preservative [!] or borne in the bosom of the diseased and weak person [!] which effect is performed by their moderate heat. Moreover, the disease and sickness changeth his place and entereth—though it be not precisely marked—into the dog [!] which to be no untruth, Experience can testify. For this kind of dogs sometimes fall sick, and sometimes die, without any harm outwardly enforced; which

is an argument that the disease of the gentleman or gentlewoman or owner whatsoever, entereth into the dog by the operation of heat intermingled and infected.

And thus have I hitherto handled dogs of a Gentle Kind, whom I have comprehended in a triple division. Now it remaineth that I annex, in due order, such dogs as be of a more homely kind.

A DIAL PERTAINING TO THE THIRD SECTION.

In the Third Section is contained one kind of dog, which is called the	Spaniel gentle or the "Comforter."	It is also called	A chamber companion, A pleasant playfellow, A pretty worm,	genrally called *Canis delicatus*.

The Fourth Section of this Discourse.

Dogs of a coarse kind, serving for many necessary uses called in Latin Canes rustici *: and first of the Shepherd's Dog; called in Latin,* Canis Pastoralis.

Dogs of the coarser sort are { The Shepherd's Dog / The Mastiff or Bandog } These two are the principal.

THE first kind, namely, the Shepherd's Hound, is very necessary and profitable for the avoiding of harms and inconveniences which may come to men, by the means of beasts. The second sort serve to succour against the snares and attempts of mischievous men.

Our Shepherd's Dog is not huge, vast, and big; but of an indifferent stature and growth, because it hath not to deal with the bloodthirsty wolf; sithence [*since*] there be none in England; which happy and fortunate benefit is to be ascribed to the puissant Prince EDGAR; who (to the intent that the whole country might be evacuated and quite cleared from wolves) charged and commanded the Welshmen, who were pestered with these butcherly beasts above measure, to pay him yearly tribute: which was (note the wisdom of the King!) three hundred wolves. Some there be, which write

that LUDWALL Prince of Wales paid yearly to King EDGAR three hundred wolves in the name of an exaction, as we have said before: And that by the means hereof, within the compass and term of four years, none of those noisome and pestilent beasts were left in the coasts of England and Wales. This EDGAR wore the royal crown, and bare the imperial sceptre of this kingdom, about the year of our Lord, nine hundred and fifty nine. Since which time, we read that no wolf hath been seen in England, bred within the bounds bounds and borders of this country.

Marry, there have been divers brought over from beyond the seas, for greediness of gain and to make money, for gazing and gaping, staring and standing to see them; being a strange beast, rare, and seldom seen in England.

But to return to our Shepherd's Dog. This dog either at the hearing of his master's voice, or at the wagging and whistling in his fist, or at his shrill and hoarse hissing, bringeth the wandering wethers and straying sheep into the selfsame place where his master's will and wish is to have them: whereby the shepherd reapeth this benefit, namely, that with little labour and no toil or moving of his feet, he may rule and guide his flock, according to his own desire; either to have them go forward, or stand still, or to draw backward, or to turn this way, or to take that way. For it is not in England, as it is in France, as it is in Flanders, as it is in Syria, as it is in Tartaria, where the sheep follow the shepherd: for here, in our country, the shepherd follows the sheep. And sometimes the straying sheep, when no dog runneth before them, nor goeth about or beside them, gather themselves together in a flock, when they hear the shepherd whistle in his fist, for fear of the dog (as I imagine): remembering this (if unreasonable creatures may be reported to have memory) that the dog commonly runneth out at his master's warrant, which is his whistle. This have we oftentimes diligently marked, in taking our journey from town to town. When we have heard a shepherd whistle, we have reined in our horse and stood still a space, to see the proof and trial of this matter. Furthermore with this dog doth the shepherd take sheep for the slaughter, and to be healed if they be sick; no hurt nor harm in the world, done to the simple creature.

Of the Mastiff or Bandog; called, in Latin. Villaticus *or* Cathenarius.

THIS kind of dog, called a Mastiff or Bandog, is vast, huge, stubborn, ugly, and eager; of a heavy and burdenous body, and therefore but of little swiftness; terrible, and frightful to behold; and more fierce and fell than any Arcadian cur, notwithstanding, they are said to have their generation of the violent lion.

They are called *Villatici*, because they are appointed to watch and keep farm places and country cottages sequestered from common recourse, and not abutting upon other houses by reason of distance; when there is any fear conceived of thieves, robbers, spoilers, and nightwanderers. They are serviceable against the fox, and the badger; to drive wild and tame swine out of meadows, pastures, glebelands, and places planted with fruit; to bait and take the bull by the ear, when occasion so requireth. One dog, or two at the uttermost, are sufficient for that purpose, be bull never so monstrous, never so fierce, never so furious, never so stern, never so untameable. For it is a kind of dog capable of courage, violent and valiant, striking cold fear into the hearts of men: but standing in fear of no man; in so much that no weapons will make him shrink, or abridge his boldness.

Our Englishmen (to the intent that their dogs might be the more fell and fierce) assist nature with art, use, and custom. For, they teach their dogs to bait the bear; to bait the bull, and other such like cruel and bloody beasts (appointing an overseer of the game) without any collar to defend their throats: and oftentimes they train them up in fighting and wrestling with a man, having (for the safeguard of his life) either a pikestaff, a club, or a sword. And by using [*accustoming*] them to exercise as these, their dogs become more sturdy and strong.

The force which is in them surmounteth all belief; the fast hold which they take with their teeth exceedeth all credit. Three of them against a bear, four against a lion are sufficient, both to try masteries with them, and utterly to overmatch them.

Which thing, HENRY the SEVENTH of that name, King of England (a Prince both politic and warlike) perceiving on a certain time, as the report runneth; commanded all such

dogs (how many soever they were in number) should be hanged; being deeply displeased, and conceiving great disdain, than an ill favoured rascal cur should, with such violent villainy, assault the valiant lion king of beasts. An example for all subjects worthy remembrance, to admonish them that it is no advantage to them to rebel against the regiment of their ruler; but to keep them within the limits of loyalty.

I read an history answerable to this, of the selfsame HENRY, who having a notable and an excellent fair falcon, it fortuned that the King's Falconers, in the presence and hearing of His Grace, highly commended his Majesty's Falcon, saying, "that it feared not to intermeddle with an eagle, it was so venturous and so mighty a bird"; which when the King heard, he charged that the falcon should be killed without delay: for the selfsame reason, as it may seem, which was rehearsed in the conclusion of the former history concerning the same King.

This dog is called, in like manner, *Cathenarius, à Cathena*, of the chain wherewith he is tied at the gates, in the day time; lest being loose, he should do much mischief: and yet might give occasion of fear and terror, by his big barking. And albeit CICERO, in his oration *Pro S. Ross* had been of this opinion, that such dogs as bark in the broad daylight should have their legs broken; yet our countrymen on this side of the seas, for their carelessness of life, "setting all at cinque and sice," are of a contrary judgement. For the thieves rogue up and down in every corner, no place is free from them; no, not the Prince's Palace, nor the countryman's cottage. In the day time, they practise pilfering, picking, open robbing, and privy stealing; and what legerdemain lack they? not fearing the shameful and horrible death of hanging. The cause of which inconvenience doth not only issue from nipping need and wringing want; for all that steal are not pinched with poverty: but some steal to maintain their excessive and prodigal expenses in apparel; their lewdness of life, their haughtiness of heart, their wantonness of manner, their wilful idleness, their ambitious bravery, and the pride of the saucy *Salacones μεγαλορρήντων* vain glorious and arrogant in behaviour, whose delight dependeth wholly to mount nimbly on horseback, to make them leap lustily, spring and prance, gallop and amble, to run a race, to wind

in compass, and so forth; living altogether upon the fatness of the spoil. Othersome there be which steal, being thereto provoked by penury and need, like masterless men applying themselves to no honest trade, but ranging up and down, impudently begging; and complaining of bodily weakness, where is no want of ability.

But valiant VALENTINE the Emperor, by wholesome laws provided, that such as having no corporal sickness, sold themselves to begging, pleaded poverty with pretended infirmity, cloaked their idle and slothful life with colourable shifts and cloudy cossening, [*cozening*] should be a perpetual slave and drudge to him, by whom their impudent idleness was bewrayed and laid against them in public place; lest the insufferable slothfulness of such vagabonds, should be burdenous to the people; or, being so hateful and odious, should grow into an example.

ALFRED, likewise, in the government of his commonwealth, procured such increase of credit to justice and upright dealing by his prudent acts and statutes, that if a man travelling by the highway of the country under his dominion, chanced to lose a budget full of gold, or his capcase farced [*stuffed*] with things of great value, late in the evening; he should find it where he lost it, safe, sound, and untouched the next morning; yea, which is a wonder, at any time for a whole month's space if he sought for it, as INGULPHUS *Croyladensis*, in his History, recordeth. But in this our unhappy age; in these I say, our devilish days, nothing can escape the claws of the spoilers; though it be kept never so sure within the house; albeit the doors be locked and bolted round about.

This dog, in like manner, of Grecians is called *οἰκουρος*.

Of the latinists, Canis Custos; *in English, the Dog Keeper.*

BORROWING his name of his service: for he doth not only keep farmers' houses; but also merchants' mansions, wherein great wealth, riches, substance, and costly stuff is reposed. And therefore were certain dogs found and maintained at the common costs and charges of the citizens of Rome in the place called *Capitolium*, to give warning of thieves' coming.

This kind of dog is also called, in Latin, Canis Laniarius; *in English, the Butcher Dog.*

SO CALLED for the necessity of his use, for his service affordeth great benefit to the Butcher; as well in following as in taking his cattle, when need constraineth, urgeth, and requireth.

This kind of dog is likewise called, in Latin, Molossicus *or* Molossus.

AFTER the name of a country in Epirus, called Molossia, which harboureth many stout, strong, and sturdy dogs of this sort: for the dogs of that country are good indeed, or else there is no trust to be had in the testimonies of writers.

This dog is also called, in Latin, Canis Mandatarius; *a Dog Messenger or Carrier.*

UPON substantial consideration, because, at his master's voice and commandment, he carrieth letters from place to place; wrapped up cunningly in his leather collar, fastened thereto, or sewed close therein: who, lest he should be hindered in his passage, useth these helps very skilfully; namely, resistance in fighting if he be not overmatched, or else swiftness and readiness in running away, if he be unable to buckle with the dog that would fain have a snatch at his skin.

This kind of dog likewise called, in Latin, Canis Lunarius; *in English, the Mooner.*

BECAUSE he doth nothing else but watch and ward at an ynche, wasting the wearisome night season without slumbering or sleeping; bawing and wawing at the moon (that I may use the word of NONIUS); a quality in mine opinion strange to consider.

This kind of dog is also called, in Latin, Aquarius; *in English, a Water Drawer.*

AND these be of the greater and the weightier sort, drawing water out of wells and deep pits, by a wheel which they turn round about, by the moving of their burthenous bodies.

This kind of dog is called, in like manner, Canis Sarcinarius; *in Latin, and may aptly be Englished, a* Tinker's Cur.

BECAUSE, with marvellous patience, they bear big budgets fraught with tinker's tools and metal meet to mend kettles, porridge-pots, skillets, and chafers, and other such like trumpery; requisite for their occupation and loitering trade: easing him of great burden, which otherwise he himself should carry upon his shoulders; which condition hath challenged unto them the foresaid name.

Besides the qualities which we have already recounted, this kind of dogs hath this principal property ingrafted in them, that they love their masters liberally and hate strangers despitefully; whereupon it followeth that they are to their masters, in travelling, a singular safeguard: defending them forcibly from the invasion of villains and thieves, preserving their lives from loss, and their health from hazard, their flesh from hacking and hewing, with such like desperate dangers. For which consideration they are meritoriously termed

In Latin, Canes defensores; *Defending Dogs, in our mother tongue.*

IF IT chance that the master be oppressed, either by a multitude, or by the greater violence and so be beaten down that he lie grovelling on the ground: it is proved true by experience, that this dog forsaketh not his master; no, not when he is stark dead. But, enduring the force of famishment and the outrageous tempests of the weather, most vigilantly watcheth and carefully keepeth the

dead carcase many days; endeavouring, furthermore, to kill the murderers of his master, if he may get any advantage. Or else by barking, by howling, by furious jarring, snarring, and such like means betrayeth the malefactor; as desirous to have the death of his aforesaid master vigorously revenged.

An example hereof, fortuned within the compass of my memory. The dog of a certain wayfaring man travelling from the city of London directly to the town of Kingston (most famous and renowned by reason of the triumphant coronation of eight several Kings), passing over a good portion of his journey, was assaulted and set upon by certain confederate thieves laying in wait for the spoil in Come Park; a perilous bottom, compassed about with woods too well known for the manifold murders and mischievous robberies there committed. Into whose hands, this passenger chanced to fall; so that his ill luck cost him the price of his life.

And that dog, whose sire was English (which BLONDUS registereth to have been within the banks of his remembrance) manifestly perceiving that his master was murdered (this chanced not far from Paris) by the hands of one which was a suitor to the same woman, whom he was a wooer unto; did both bewray the bloody butcher, and attempted to tear out the villain's throat, if he had not sought means to avoid the revenging rage of the dog.

In fires also, which fortune in the silence and dead time of the night, or in stormy weather of the said season, the older dogs, bark, bawl, howl, and yell, yea, notwithstanding they be roughly rated: neither will they stay their tongues till the household servants awake, rise, search, and see the burning of the fire; which being perceived they use voluntary silence, and cease from yolping. This hath been, and is found true by trial, in sundry parts of England.

There was no fainting faith in that dog, which when his master, by a mischance in hunting stumbled and fell, toppling down a deep ditch, being unable to recover of himself; the dog signifying his master's mishap, rescue came, and he was hauled up by a rope: whom the dog seeing, almost drawn up to the edge of the ditch, cheerfully saluted, leaping and skipping upon his master, as though he would have embraced him; being glad of his presence, whose longer absence he was loath to lack.

Some dogs there be, which will not suffer fiery coals to lie scattered about the hearth, but with their paws will rake up the burning coals; musing and studying first with themselves how it might conveniently be done. And if so be, that the coals cast too great a heat, then will they bury them in ashes; and so remove them forward to a fit place with their noses.

Other dogs be there, which execute the office of a farmer in the night time. For when his master goeth to bed to take a natural sleep, And when

A hundred bars of brass and iron bolts
Make all things safe from starts and from revolts.
When JANUS keeps the gate with ARGUS eye,
That dangers none approach, ne mischiefs nigh,

As VIRGIL vaunteth in his verses. Then if his master biddeth him go abroad, he lingereth not, but rangeth over all his lands himself, lying there about, more diligently, I wis [*think*], than any farmer himself. And if he find anything there, that is strange and pertaineth to other persons besides his master; whether it be man, woman, or beast, he driveth them out of the ground: not meddling with anything, which doth belong to the use and possession and use of his master. But how much faithfulness, so much diversity there is in their natures.

For there be some
- Which bark only with free and open throat, but will not bite.
- Which do both bark and bite.
- Which bite bitterly before they bark.

The first are not greatly to be feared, Because they themselves are fearful; and fearful dogs (as the proverb importeth) bark most vehemently.

The second are dangerous. It is wisdom to take heed of them, because they sound, as it were, an Alarum of an Afterclap; and these dogs must not be over much moved or provoked, for then they take on outrageously as if they were mad, watching to set the print of their teeth in the flesh. And these kind of dogs are fierce and eager by nature.

The third are deadly. For they fly upon a man, without

utterance of voice, snatch at him, and catch him by the throat, and most cruelly bite out collops of flesh. Fear these kind of curs! if thou be wise and circumspect about thine own safety! for they be stout and stubborn dogs, and set upon a man, at a sudden, unawares.

By these signs and tokens, by these notes and arguments, our men discern the cowardly cur from the courageous dog; the bold from the fearful, the butcherly from the gentle and tractable. Moreover they conjecture that a whelp of an ill kind is not worth the keeping; and that no dog can serve the sundry uses of men so aptly and so conveniently as this sort of whom we have so largely written already.

For if any be disposed to draw the above-named services into a table, what man more clearly and with more vehemency of voice giveth warning, either of a wasteful beast or of a spoiling thief, than this? who by his barking, as good as a burning beacon, foreshoweth hazards at hand. What manner of beast, stronger? what servant to his master, more loving? what companion, more trusty? what Watchman, more vigilant? what Revenger, more constant? what Messenger, more speedy? what Water Bearer, more painful? finally what Pack Horse, more patient?

And thus much concerning English dogs, first of the Gentle Kind, secondly to the Coarser Kind. Now it remaineth that we deliver unto you the dogs of a mongrel or currish kind, and then will we have performed our task.

¶A DIAL PERTAINING TO THE FOURTH SECTION.

Dogs comprehended in the Fourth Section are these	The Shepherd's dog	which hath sundry names, derived from sundry circumstances, as	The Keeper or Watchman.	Called in Latin *Canes Rustici.*
			The Butcher dog.	
			The Messenger or Carrier.	
	The Mastiff or Bandog		The Mooner.	
			The Water Drawer.	
			The Tinker's Cur.	
			The Fencer.	

The Fifth Section of this Treatise.

Containing curs of the mongrel and rascal sort; and first of the dog, called, in Latin, Admonitor; *and of us in English, Wap or Warner.*

OF SUCH dogs, as keep not their kind; of such as are mingled out of sundry sorts not imitating the conditions of some one certain species, because they resemble no notable shape, nor exercise any worthy property of the true perfect and gentle kind; it is not necessary that I write any more of them: but to banish them as unprofitable implements, out of the bounds of my book: unprofitable I say for any use that is commendable, except in entertaining strangers with their barking in the daytime, giving warning to them of the house, that such and such be newly come. Whereupon, we call them Admonishing Dogs; because, in that point, they perform their office.

Of the dog, called Turnspit; in Latin, Veruversator.

THERE is comprehended under the curs of the coarsest kind, a certain dog excellent in kitchen service. For when any meat is to be roasted, they go into a wheel; which they turning round with the weight of their bodies; and so diligently look to their business, that no drudge nor scullion can do the feat more cunningly. Whom the popular sort hereupon call, Turnspits; being the last of all those which we have first mentioned.

Of the dog, called the Dancer; in Latin, Saltator *or* Tympanista.

THERE be also dogs among us, of a mongrel kind, which are taught and exercised to dance in measure at the musical sound of an instrument; as, at the just stroke of the drum, at the sweet accent of the cithern, and tuned strings of the harmonious harp: showing many pretty tricks by the gesture of their bodies. As, to stand bolt upright, to lie flat upon the ground, to turn round as a ring holding their tails in their teeth, to beg for their meat; and sundry such properties, which they learn of their vagabondical masters, whose instruments they are to gather gain withal in city, country, town, and village. As some which carry old apes on their shoulders in coloured jackets, to move men to laughter; for a little lucre.

A start to outlandish dogs; in this conclusion not impertinent to the Author's purpose.

USE and custom hath entertained other dogs of an outlandish kind, but a few and the same being of a pretty bigness, I mean Iceland dogs, curled and rough all over; which by reason of the length of their hair make show, neither of face nor of body. And yet these curs, forsooth, because they are so strange are greatly set by, esteemed, taken up, and made of, many times in the room of the Spaniel Gentle or "Comforter."

The natures of men are so moved, nay rather married to novelties; without all reason, wit, judgement or perseverance,

Ερῶμεν ἀλλοτριῶν, παρορῶμεν συγγενεῖς.

Outlandish toys we take with delight;
Things of our own nature we have in despite:

Which fault remaineth not in us concerning dogs only, but for artificers also. And why? It is too manifest that we disdain and contemn our own workmen, be they never so skilful, be they never so cunning, be they never so excellent. A beggarly beast brought out of barbarous borders, from the uttermost countries northward, &c.; we stare at, we

gaze at, we muse, we marvel at; like an Ass of Cumanum, like THALES with the brazen shanks, like the Man in the Moon. The which default, HIPPOCRATES, marked when he was alive, as evidently appeareth in the beginning of his book *Περὶ ἀγμῶν*, so intituled and named. And we, in our work, entitled *De Ephemera Britannica*; to the people of England, have more plentifully expressed.

In this kind, look which is most blockish, and yet most waspish, the same is most esteemed; and not among citizens only, and jolly gentlemen; but among lusty lords also, and noblemen, and dainty courtiers ruffling in their riotous rags.

Further, I am not to wade in the ford of this Discourse; because it was my purpose to satisfy your expectations with a short Treatise, most learned CONRAD! not wearisome for me to write, nor tedious for you to peruse.

Among other things, which you have received at my hands heretofore, I remember that I wrote a several description of the Getulian dog; because there are but a few of them, and therefore very seldom seen. As touching dogs of other kinds, you yourself have taken earnest pain, in writing of them both lively, learnedly, and largely. But because we have drawn this Libel more at length, than the former which I sent you; and yet briefer than the nature of the thing might well bear, regarding your more earnest and necessary studies; I will conclude; making a rehearsal notwithstanding (for memory's sake) of certain specialities contained in the whole body of this my Breviary.

And because you participate principal pleasure in the knowledge of the common and usual Names of Dogs, as I gather by the course of your letters: I suppose it not amiss to deliver unto you a short table containing, as well the Latin as the English names; and to render a reason of every particular appellation, to the intent that no scruple may remain in this point, but that everything may be sifted to the bare bottom.

A DIAL PERTAINING TO THE FIFTH SECTION.

Dogs contained in this last Dial or Table are	The Wap or Warner The Turnspit The Dancer	called in Latin *Canes Rustici.*

A Supplement or Addition, containing a demonstration of Dogs' Names, how they had their original.

THE names contained in the General Table, forsomuch as they signify nothing to you, being a stranger, and ignorant of the English tongue, except they be interpreted: as we have given a reason before of it in Latin words, so mean we to do no less of the English; that everything may be manifest unto your understanding. Wherein I intend to observe the same order, which I have followed before.

The Names of such Dogs as be contained in the First Section.

SAGAX, in English, *Hound*, is derived of our English word "hunt." One letter changed into another, namely, T into D, as "hunt," "hund": whom, if you conjecture to be so named of your country word *Hunde* which signifieth the general name "Dog," because of the similitude and likeness of the words; I will not stand in contradiction, friend GESNER! for so much

as we retain among us at this day many Dutch [*German*] words which the Saxons left at such time as they occupied this country of Britain. Thus much also understand! that as in your language *hunde* is the common word, so in our natural tongue *dog* is the universal; but *hound* is particular and a special; for it signifieth such a dog only as serveth to hunt, and therefore it is called a *hound*.

Of the Gaze Hound.

THE Gaze Hound, called, in Latin, *Agasæus*, hath his name of the sharpness and stedfastness of his eye-sight. By which virtue, he compasseth that which otherwise he cannot by smelling attain. As we have made former relation, for to *gaze* is *earnestly to view* and *behold*, from whence floweth the derivation of this dog's name.

Of the Grey Hound.

THE Greyhound, called *Leporarius*, hath his name of this word *Gre*, which word soundeth, *Gradus* in Latin, in English *degree*. Because among all dogs they are the most principal occupying the chiefest place; and being simply and absolutely, the best of the gentle kind of hounds.

Of the Levyner *or the* Lyemmer.

THIS dog is called a *Levyner*, for his *lightness*, which in Latin, soundeth *Levitas*. Or a *Lyemmer*, which word is borrowed of *Lyemme*, which the Latinists name *Lorum*: and wherefore we call him a *Levyner* of this word *Levitas*; as we do many things besides. Why, we derive draw a thousand of our terms out of the Greek, the Latin, and the Italian, the Dutch, the French, and the Spanish tongue? Out of which fountains indeed, they had their original issue. How many words are buried in the grave of forgetfulness, grown out of use, wrested awry, and perversely corrupted, by divers defaults; we will declare at large, in our book intituled, *Symphonia vocum Britannicarum*.

Of the Tumbler.

AMONG hounds, the Tumbler, called, in Latin, *Vertagus*, is the last, which cometh of this word "Tumbler"; flowing first of all out of the French fountain. For as we say *Tumble*, so they, *Tumbier*; reserving one sense and signification: which the Latinist comprehend under this word *Vertere*. So that we see thus much, that *Tumbler* cometh of *Tumbier*, the vowel, I, changed into the liquid L, after the manner of our speech; contrary to the French and Italian tongue. In which two languages, a *liquid* before a vowel, for the most part is turned into another *vowel*; as, may be perceived in the example of these two words *implere* and *plano*, for *impiere* and *piano*. L before E, changed into I; and L before A, turned into I, also. This I thought convenient, for a taste!

The Names of such Dogs as be contained in the Second Section.

AFTER such as serve for hunting, orderly, do follow such as serve for hawking and fowling. Among which the principal and chiefest is the Spaniel, called in Latin *Hispaniolus*, borrowing his name of *Hispania*, Spain; wherein we Englishmen not pronouncing the aspiration H, nor the vowel I, for quickness and readiness of speech say, roundly, A Spaniel.

Of the Setter.

THE second sort of this Second Division and second section: is called a Setter, in Latin *Index*. Of the word *Set*, which signifieth in English that which the Latinists mean by this word *Locum designare*, the reason is rehearsed before more largely [*p.* 243]; it shall not need to make a new repetition.

Of the Water Spaniel *or* Finder.

THE Water Spaniel consequently followeth, called in Latin *Aquaticus*, in English a Water Spaniel; which name is compound of two simple words, namely, Water, which in Latin soundeth *Aqua*, wherein he swimmeth; And Spain, *Hispania*, the country from whence they came. Not that England wanteth such kind of dogs; for they are naturally bred and ingendered in this country: but because they bear the general and common name of these dogs, since the time they were first brought over out of Spain. And we make a certain difference in this sort of dogs, either for something which in their voice is to be marked, or for something which in their qualities is to be considered. As for an example, in this kind called the Spaniel, by the apposition and putting to of this word Water; which two coupled together sound Water Spaniel.

He is also called a Finder, in Latin *Inquisitor*, because that by serious and secure seeking, he findeth such things as be lost; which, word *Find*, in English, is that, which the Latin mean by the verb *Invenire*. This dog hath this name of his property, because the principal point of his service consisteth in the premises.

The Names of such Dogs as be contained in the Third Section.

NOw leaving the surview of hunting and hawking dogs; it remaineth that we run over the residue, whereof some be called, fine dogs, some coarse, other some mongrels or rascals. The first is the Spaniel gentle called *Canis Melitæus*, because it is a kind of dog accepted among gentles, nobles, lords, ladies, &c., who make much of them vouchsafing to admit them so far into their company, that they will not only lull them in their laps, but kiss them with their lips, and make them their pretty playfellows.

Such a one was GORGON'S little puppy, mentioned by THEOCRITUS in *Siracusis*, who taking his journey, straightly charged

and commanded his maid to see to his dog as charily and warily as to his child; to call him in always, that he wandered not abroad, as well as to rock the babe asleep, crying in the cradle. This puppitly and peasantly cur (which some, frumpingly, term Fisting Hounds) serve in a manner to no good use; except, as we have made former relation, to succour and strengthen quailing and qualming stomachs, to bewray baudery and filthy abominable lewdness. Which a little dog of this kind did in Sicilia, as ÆLIANUS in his 7th book Of beasts, and 27th chapter recordeth.

The Names of such Dogs as be contained in the Fourth Section.

OF DOGS, under the coarser kind, we will deal first with the Shepherd's Dog, whom we call the Bandog, the Tydog, or the Mastiff. The first name is imputed to him for service *quoniam pastori famulatur;* because he is at the Shepherd his master's commandment. The second, *à Ligamento,* of the Band or chain wherewith he is tied. The third, *a Sagina,* of the fatness of his body. For this kind of dog which is usually tied, is mighty gross, and fat fed. I know this, that AUGUSTINUS NIPHUS, calleth this *Mastinus,* which we call *Mastivus.* And that ALBERTUS writeth how the *Lyciscus* is engendered by a bear and a wolf. Notwithstanding that, the selfsame author taketh it, for the most part, *pro Molosso.* A dog of such a [*that*] country.

The Names of such Dogs as be contained in the Fifth Section.

OF MONGRELS and rascals somewhat is to be spoken. And among these of the Wapp or Turnspit: which name is made of two simple words, that is, of *Turn,* which in Latin soundeth *Vertere;* and of *spit* which is *veru,* or *spede.* For the English word inclineth

closer to the Italian imitation: *Veruversator*, Turnspit. He is called also Waupe, of the natural noise of his voice, *Wau*, which he maketh in barking.

But for the better and the readier sound, the vowel *u*, is changed into the consonant, *p*; so that for *Waup* we say *Wapp*. And yet I wot well that NONIUS borroweth his *Baubari* of the natural voice *Bau*, as the Grecians do their *Βαΰζειν* of *Wau*.

Now when you understand this, that *Saltare* in Latin signifieth *Dansare*, in English; and that our dog thereupon is called a Dancer, and in the Latin *Saltator*: you are as far taught, as you were desirous to learn.

And now suppose I, there remaineth nothing, but that your request is fully accomplished.

The winding up of this work called the
Supplement, &c.

THUS, friend GESNER! you have, not only the kinds of our country dogs, but their names also; as well in Latin as in English; their offices, services, diversities, natures, and properties: that you can demand no more of me in this matter. And albeit I have not satisfied your mind peradventure (who suspectest all speed in the performance of your request employed, to be mere delays), because I stayed the setting forth of that imperfect pamphlet which, five years ago [1531], I sent to you as to a private friend for your own reading, and not to be printed, and so made common: yet I hope, having, like the bear, licked over my young, I have waded in this work to your contentation; which delay hath made somewhat better and *δεύτεραί φροντίδες* "after wit" more meet to be perused.

The End of this Treatise.

FINIS.

Doctor JOHN DEE.

The Petty Navy Royal.

[*General and rare Memoria's*, &c., better known from its headline as *The British Monarchy*. 1577.]

WHOM *also I have heard often and most heartily wish*, That all manner of persons passing or frequenting our seas appropriate, and many ways next environing England, Ireland, and Scotland, might be in convenient and honourable sort, at all times at the commandment and order, by beck or check, of a Petty Naval Royal of three-score tall ships or more, but in no case fewer; and they to be very well appointed, thoroughly manned, and sufficiently victualled.

The public commodities whereof ensuing are, or would be so great and many, as the whole commons, and all the subjects of this noble Kingdom would for ever bless the day and hour wherein such good and politic order was, in so good time and opportunity, taken and established: and esteem them not only most worthy and royal Councillors, but also heroical Magistrates, who have had so fatherly care for the commonalty; and most wisely procured so general British security,

1. That, henceforth, neither France, Denmark, Scotland, Spain, nor any other country can have such liberty for invasion, or their mutual conspiracies or aids, any way transporting, to annoy the blessed state of our tranquillity; as either they have in times past had, or else may have, whensoever they will forget or contemn the observing of their sworn or pretended amity.

2. Besides that, I report me to all English merchants, *said he*, of how great value to them, and consequently to the

public weal of this Kingdom, such a security were? (a) Whereby, both outward and homeward, continually their merchantlike ships, many or few, great or small, may in our seas and somewhat further, pass quietly unpilled, unspoiled, and untaken by pirates or others in time of peace. (b) What abundance of money now lost by assurance [*marine insurance*] given or taken, would by this means also, be greatly out of danger?

3. And thirdly, (a) how many men, before time of urgent need, would thus be made very skilful in all the foresaid seas and sea coasts; in their channels knowing, in soundings all over, in good marks taking for avoiding dangers, in good harbours trying out, in good landings essaying, in the order of ebbs and floods observing, and all other points advisedly learning, which to the perfect Art of Navigation are very necessary: whereby they may be the better able to be divided and distributed in a greater Navy, with charge of Mastership or Pilotage, in time of great need. (b) They of this Navy should oftentimes espy or meet the privy sounders and searchers of our channels, flats, banks, pits, &c.; and so very diligently deciphering our sea coasts, yea, in the river of Thames also; otherwhile up to the station of the Grand Navy Royal. (c) And likewise, very often meet with the abominable thieves that steal our corn and victuals from sundry our coasts, to the great hindrance of the public plenty of England. And these thieves are both subjects and foreigners; and very often and to to [*far to*] evidently seen, and generally murmured at, but as yet not redressed; for all the good and wise order by the most honourable Senate of the Privy Council taken therein.

4. Fourthly, how many thousands of soldiers of all degrees, and apt ages of men, would be, by this means, not only hardened well to brook all rage and disturbance of sea, and endure healthfully all hardness of lodging and diet there; but also would be well practised and easily trained up to great perfection of understanding all manner of fight and service at sea? so that, in time of great need, that expert and hardy crew of some thousands of sea soldiers [*Marines*] would be to this realm a treasure incomparable. And who knoweth not, what danger it is, in time of great need, either to use all fresh water soldiers; or to be a fortnight

in providing a little company of *omni-gatharums*, taken up on the sudden to serve at sea? For our ordinary Land Musters are generally intended, or now may be spared to be employed otherwise, if need be.

5. How many hundreds of lusty and handsome men would be, this way, well occupied, and have needful maintenance, which now are either idle, or want sustenance, or both; in too many places of this renowned Monarchy?

6. Moreover, what a comfort and safeguard will it, or may it be to the whole Realm, to have the great advantage of so many warlike ships, so well manned and appointed for all assays, at all hours, ready to affront straightway, set on and overthrow, any sudden or privy foreign treachery by sea, directly or indirectly, attempted against this Empire, in any coast or part thereof. For *sudden* foreign attempts (that is to say, unknown or unheard of to us, before their readiness) cannot be done with great power. For great navies most commonly are espied or heard somewhat of, and that very certainly, while they are in preparing; though in the meanwhile, politicly, in divers places, they distribute their ships and their preparations appertaining.

7. And by reason of the foresaid Petty Navy Royal, it shall at all times, not only lie in our hands greatly to displease and pinch the petty foreign offender at sea; but also, if just occasion be given, on land to do very valiant service, and that speedily: as well against any of the foresaid foreign possible offenders, as also against such of Ireland or England, who shall or will traitorously, rebelliously, or seditiously assemble in troops or bands within the territories of Ireland or England; while greater armies, on our behalf, shall be in preparing against them, if further need be. For skilful sea soldiers are also on land far more trainable to all martial exploits executing; and therein to be more quick-eyed and nimble at handstrokes or scaling; better to endure all hardness of lodging or diet; and less to fear all danger near or far: than the land soldier can be brought to the perfection of a sea soldier.

8. By this Navy also, all pirates—our own countrymen, and they be no small number—would be called, or constrained to come home. And then (upon good assurance taken of the reformable and men of choice, for their good abearing

from henceforth) all such to be bestowed here and there in the foresaid Navy. For good account is to be made of their bodies, already hardened to the seas; and chiefly of their courage and skill for good service to be done at the sea.

9. Ninthly, Princes and potentates, our foreign friends or privy foes, the one for love and the other for fear, would not suffer any merchant or others, subjects of the Queen's Majesty, either to have speedy wrong in their Courts; or by unreasonable delays or trifling shifts to be made weary and unable to follow their rights. And notwithstanding such our friends or privy foes, their subjects would be glad most reverently to become suitors and petitioners to the royal State of this Kingdom for just redress, if, any kind of way, they could truly prove themselves by any subject of this realm injuried; and they would never be so stout, rude, and dishonourably injurious to the Crown and Dignity of this most sacred Monarchy as, in such cases, to be their own judges, or to use against this Kingdom and the royal chief Council thereof, such abominable terms of dishonour as our to to great lenity and their to to barbarous impudency might in a manner induce them to do. And all this would come to pass through the Royalty and Sovereignty of the seas adjacent or environing this Monarchy of England, Ireland, and (by right) Scotland and the Orkneys also, very princely, prudently, and valiantly recovered (that is to say, by the said Petty Navy Royal); duly and justly limited; discreetly possessed; and triumphantly enjoyed.

10. Should not Foreign Fishermen (overboldly now, and to to injuriously abusing our rich fishings about England, Wales, and Ireland) by the presence, oversight, power, and industry of this Petty Navy Royal be made content; and judge themselves well apaid to enjoy, by our leave, some great portion of revenue to enrich themselves and their countries by, with fishing within the seas appertaining to our ancient bounds and limits? Where now, to our great shame and reproach, some of them do come in a manner home to our doors; and among them all, deprive us yearly of many hundred thousand pounds, which by our fishermen using the said fishings as chief, we might enjoy; and at length, by little and little, bring them (if we would deal so rigorously with them) to have as little portion of our peculiar commodity (to

our Islandish Monarchy, by GOD and Nature assigned) as now they force our fishermen to be contented with: and yearly notwithstanding, do at their fishing openly and ragingly use such words of reproach to our Prince and realm, as no true subject's heart can quietly digest. And besides that, offer such shameful wrongs to the good labour-some people of this land, as is not by any reason to be borne withal, or endured any longer: destroying their nets; cutting their cables to the loss of their anchors, yea, and oftentimes of barks, men and all.

And this sort of people they be, which otherwhile by colour and pretence of coming about their feat of fishing, do subtilly and secretly use soundings and searchings of our channels, deeps, shoals, banks, or bars along the sea coasts, and in our haven mouths also, and up in our creeks, sometimes in our bays, and sometimes in our roads, &c.; taking good marks, for avoiding of the dangers, and also trying good landings. And so, making perfect charts of all our coasts round about England and Ireland, are become almost perfecter in them, than the most part of our Masters, Leadsmen, or Pilots are. To the double danger of mischief in times of war; and also to no little hazard of the State Royal, if, maliciously bent, they should purpose to land any puissant army, in time to come.

And as concerning those fishings of England, Wales, and Ireland, of their places, yearly seasons, the many hundreds of foreign fisherboats yearly resorting, the divers sorts of fish there taken, with the appurtenances: I know right well that long ago* all such matter concerning these fishings was declared unto some of the higher powers of this Kingdom, and made manifest by R[OBERT]. H[ITCHCOCK]. another honest gentleman of the Middle Temple, who very discreetly and faithfully hath dealt therein; and still travaileth, and by divers other ways also, to further the weal public of England so much as in him lieth.

But note, I pray you, this point very advisedly. That as by this *Plat** of our said fishing commodities, many a hundred thousand pounds of yearly revenue might grow to the Crown of England more than now doth, and much more to

* This work was put into its final shape in 1577, and first printed in 1580.

the commons of this Monarchy also: besides the inestimable benefit of plentiful victualling and relieving of both England and Ireland; the increasing of many thousands of expert, hard, and hardy mariners; the abating of the sea forces of our foreign neighbours and unconstant friends; and contrariwise, the increasing of our own power and force at sea; so it is most evident and certain that *principium* in this case is, *Plus quam dimidium totius*, as I have heard it verified proverbially in many other affairs.

Wherefore the very entrance and beginning towards our Sea Right recovering, and the foresaid commodities enjoying at length; yea, and the *only* means of our countinuance therewith, can be no other; but by the dreadful presence and power, with discreet oversight and due order, of the said Petty Navy Royal; being—wholly sometimes, sometimes a part thereof—at all the chief places of our fishings; as if they were Public Officers, Commissioners, and Justiciers, by the supreme authority royal of our most renowned Queen ELIZABETH, rightfully and prudently thereto assigned.

So that this Petty Navy Royal is thought to be the only Master Key wherewith to open all locks that keep out or hinder this incomparable British Empire from enjoying, by many means, such a yearly Revenue of Treasure, both to the Supreme Head and the subjects thereof—as no plat [*tract*] of ground or sea in the whole world else, being of no greater quantity—can with more right, greater honour, with so great ease and so little charges, so near at hand, in so short time, and in so little danger, any kind of way, yield the like to either King or other potentate and absolute Governor thereof whosoever. Besides, the Peaceable Enjoyment, to enjoy all the same, for ever; yea, yearly and yearly, by our wisdom and valiantness duly used, all manner of our commodities to arise greater and greater; as well in wealth and strength as of foreign love and fear, where it is most requisite to be: and also of Triumphant Fame the whole world over, undoubtedly.

Also, this Petty Navy Royal will be the perfect means of very many other and exceeding great commodities redounding to this Monarchy; which our fishermen and their fisher-boats only, can never be able to compass or bring to pass: and

those being such as are more necessary to be cared for presently [*instantly*] than wealth.

Therefore, the premises well weighed, above and before all other, this Plat [*plan*] of a Petty Navy Royal will, by GOD's grace, be found the plain and perfect A. B. C., most necessary for the commons and every subject in his calling to be carefully and diligently musing upon, or exercising himself therein; till, shortly, they may be able in effect to read before their eyes, the most joyful and pleasant British histories (by that Alphabet only deciphered, and so brought to their understanding and knowledge) that ever to this or any kingdom in the whole world else, was known or perceived.

11. Furthermore, how acceptable a thing may this be to the Ragusyes [*Argosies*], Hulks, Caravels, and other foreign rich laden ships, passing within or by any of the sea limits of Her Majesty's royalty; even there to be now in most security where only, heretofore, they have been in most jeopardy: as well by the ravin of the pirate, as the rage of the sea distressing them, for lack of succour, or good and ready pilotage! What great friendship in heart of foreign Prince and subject! And what liberal presents and foreign contributions in hand will duly follow thereof, who cannot imagine?

12. Moreover, such a Petty Navy Royal, *said he*, would be in such stead, as though (**a**) one [fleet] were appointed to consider and listen to the doings of Ireland; and (**b**) another to have as good an eye, and ready hand for Scottish dealings; (**c**) another to intercept or understand all privy conspiracies, by sea to be communicated; and privy aids of men, munition, or money by sea to be transported; to the endamaging of this kingdom, any way intended: (**d**) another against all sudden foreign attempts: (**e**) another to oversee the foreign fishermen: (**f**) another against all pirates haunting our seas: and therewith as well to waft and guard our own merchant fleets as they shall pass and repass between this realm, and wheresoever else they may best be planted for their ordinary marts' keeping; if England may not best serve that turn. And also to defend, help, and direct many of our foreign friends, who must needs pass by or frequent any of those seas, whose principal royalty, undoubtedly, is to the Imperial Crown of these British Islands appropriate.

One such Navy, *said he*, by royal direction, excellently well manned, and to all purposes aptly and plentifully furnished and appointed; and *now, in time of our peace and quiet everywhere, yet beforehand set forth to the foresaid seas* with their charges and commissions (most secretly to be kept from all foes and foreigners) would stand this common wealth in as great stead as four times so many ships would or could do; if, upon the sudden and all at once, we should be forced to deal for removing the foresaid sundry principal matters of annoyance: we being then utterly unready thereto, and the enemy's attempt requiring speedy, and admitting of no successive, defeating.

13. To conclude herein. This Petty Navy Royal undoubtedly will stand the realm in better stead than the enjoying of four such forts or towns as Calais and Boulogne only could do. For this will be as great strength, and to as good purpose in any coast of England, Ireland, or Scotland, between us and the foreign foe, as ever Calais was for that only one place that it is situated in; and will help to enjoy the Royalty and Sovereignty of the Narrow Seas throughout, and of other our seas also, more serviceable than Calais or Boulogne ever did or could do: if all the provisos hereto appertaining be duly observed. Forasmuch as we intend now *peace only preserving*, and no invasion of France or any enemy on that main inhabiting; toward whom by Calais or Boulogne we need to let in our land forces, &c. Much I know may be here said, *Pro et Contra*, in this case: but GOD hath suffered such matters to fall so out; and all to us for the best, if it be so, thankfully construed and duly considered.

For when all foreign Princes, our neighbours, doubtful friends, or undutiful people, subjects or vassals to our Sovereign, perceive such a Petty Navy Royal hovering purposely here and there, ever ready and able to overthrow any of their malicious and subtle secret attempts intended against the weal public of this noble Kingdom in any part or coast thereof: then, every one of them will or may think that, of purpose, that Navy was made out only to prevent them, and none other; and for their destruction, being bewrayed [*betrayed*] as they would deem. So that not one such foreign enemy would adventure, first, to break out into any notable disorder against us; nor homish subject or

wavering vassal, for like respects, durst, then, privily muster to rebellion, or make harmful rodes [*inroads*] or dangerous riots in any English or Irish Marches.

But such matter as this, I judge you have, or might have heard of, ere now, by worshipful Master DYER; and that abundantly: seeing *Synopsis Reipublicæ Britanicæ*, was, at his request, six years past [*i.e.*, *in* 1570] contrived; as by the methodical author thereof, I understand. Whose policy for the partings, meetings, followings, circuits, &c., of the ships (to the foresaid Petty Navy Royal belonging) with the alterations both of times, places, and numbers, &c., is very strange to hear.

So that, in total sum of all the foresaid considerations united in one, it seemeth to be almost a mathematical demonstration, next under the merciful and mighty protection of GOD, for a feasible policy to bring and preserve this victorious British Monarchy in a marvellous security. Whereupon, the revenue of the Crown of England and wealth public will wonderfully increase and flourish; and then, thereupon, sea forces anew to be increased proportionally, &c. And so the Fame, Renown, Estimation, and Love or Fear of this British *Microcosmus*, all the whole and great World over, will be speedily be spread, and surely be settled, &c.

IT IS most earnestly and carefully to be considered that our herring fishings, [over] against Yarmouth chiefly, have not (so notably, to our great injury and loss and the great and incredible gain of the Low Countries) been traded, but from Thirty-six years ago hitherward. [*This fixes the commencement of the Dutch herring fishery on the English coasts about* 1540.] In which time, as they have in wealth, and numbers of boats and men, by little and little increased, and are now become very rich, strong, proud, and violent; so, in the race [*course*] of the selfsame time running, the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk next to those fishing-places adjacent, are decayed in their navy to the number of 140 Sail, and they [of] from threescore to a hundred tons and upwards [each]; besides Crayers and others. Whereupon, besides many other damages thereby sustained publicly, these coasts are not able to trade to Iceland,

Though of late in the Flushing and Low Country's troublesome disorders, some few (by stealing over [*smuggling*] of victuals and other things from this commonwealth) have made themselves privately rich; and so able to set

forth to Iceland a ship or two: who, before, were far unable thereto by their own wealth, and lawfull rade of dealing.

as in times past they have done; to no little loss yearly to the wealth public of this kingdom.

But the Herring Busses hither yearly restoring out of the Low Countries, under King PHILIP his dominion, are above 500.

Besides 100 or such a thing, of Frenchmen.

The North Seas fishing, within the English limits, are yearly possessed of 300 or 400 Sail of Flemings [*Dutch*]; so accounted.

The Western fishings of Hake and Pilchards are yearly possessed by a great navy of Frenchmen; who yearly do great injuries to our poor countrymen, Her Majesty's faithful subjects.

Strangers also enjoy at their pleasure the Herring fishing of Allonby, Workington, and Whitehaven on the coast of Lancashire.

And in Wales, about Dyfi [*the Dovey*] and Aberystwith, the plentiful Herring fishing is enjoyed by 300 Sail of strangers.

But in Ireland, Baltimore [*near Cape Clear*] is possessed yearly, from July to Michaelmas most commonly, with 300 Sail of Spaniards, entering there into the fishing at a Strait [*passage*] not so broad as half the breadth of the Thames [over] against Whitehall. Where, our late good King EDWARD VI.'s most honourable Privy Council was of the mind once to have planted a strong bulwark [*fort*]; for other weighty reasons, as well as His Majesty to be Sovereign Lord of the fishing of Millwin and Cod there.

Black Rock [*? co. Cork*] is yearly fished by 300 or sometimes 400 Sail of Spaniards and Frenchmen.

But to reckon all, I should be too tedious to you; and make my heart to ache for sorrow, &c.

Yet surely I think it necessary to leave to our posterity some remembrance of the places where our rich fishings else are, about Ireland. As at Kinsale, Cork, Carlingford, Saltesses, Dungarven, Youghal, Waterford, La Foy, The Band, Calibeg [*Killibegs*], &c. And all chiefly enjoyed, as securely and freely from us by strangers, as if they were within their own Kings' peculiar sea limits: nay, rather as if those coasts, seas, and bays, &c., were of their private and several purchases. To our unspeakable loss, discredit, and discomfort; and to no small further danger in these perilous times, of most subtle treacheries and fickle fidelity.

Dictum, Sapienti sat esto.

Dean WILLIAM TURNER, Doctor of Physic.

Notes on Wines used in England.

[*A New Book of the Nature and properties of all Wines, &c.* 1568.]

To the Right Honourable
Sir WILLLIAM CECIL, Knight, Chief Secretary unto the Queen's Majesty; and Master of Her Highness's Court of Wards and Liveries &c., and sometime his co-student in the University of Cambridge:
WILLIAM TURNER wisheth all prosperity, both of body and soul, through JESUS CHRIST our Saviour.

SIR,

FTER that I perceived that my age, joined with continual sickness, would suffer me no more to be profitable to CHRIST's Church and common wealth by my voice, words, and going abroad: I thought it meet by such members and means as GOD hath left in me as yet unhurt and untouched, for that portion of living [*life*] that I have, to profit the Church of GOD as much as I could. And therefore, within these twelve months, I have translated one book out of Latin into

English; and have written one Homily against Gluttony and Drunkenness and other vices annexed thereto; and have set them abroad for the promoting and increasing the Kingdom of GOD.

I thought also, seeing that GOD hath also endued me with the knowledge of bodily physic; after that I had sought to promote the Kingdom of GOD, to communicate some part of my knowledge that GOD hath given unto me in natural knowledge unto my brethren that had need thereof.

But when as I perceived that there was so much use of Wine in all countries [*counties*] of England; and so many errors committed in the abusing of it, both of the most part of the laity, and also of some of the learned that profess natural knowledge, I thought I should do no small benefit unto the Church and common wealth of England, if that I should set out a book of the Nature of Wines; and confute the errors and ill opinions that all men have concerning the natures and properties of them.

And this book have I now ended, and dedicate unto your Honour, for a token of the good will that I bear unto you; desiring you also to be a Patron of it, against all such babbling and unlearned Sophisters as will speak against it; not being armed with learning, authority, and reason, but only with their old sophistry, which they learned in the time of ignorance and darkness. If these will be too busy in defending their errors, and will go about to defend them and confute the truth that I have taught in this book: if that I can have, by the help of GOD, granted unto me any truce between me and my disease, I intend to put you to small pain in the defending of my book; for I have been matched with as big men as these be, I thank GOD! and well have escaped without dishonour. But if my sickness will not suffer me to do it that I would otherwise do, then I must desire you and others of my friends to defend me, so far forth as I defend the truth.

The following few Notes are extracted from many quotations of the medical opinions of the Ancients, to show the kinds of Wine in use in England in 1568.

WINES may be numbered and divided either by the country and places that they grow in; or by their colours; or by their youth or age; or by their taste, smell, and property that they have; and some of the manner of making. Every one of these kinds may be divided again into certain other special sorts or under-kinds.

Some wine is called *Creticum* from *Creta*, which is named in English, Candy. Some is called *Grecium* from *Grecia*. Some Rhenish, because it groweth besides the Rhine. Some *Gallicum*, that is French Wine, because it groweth in France. And some *Rhœticum* because it groweth in *Rhœtia*. And so a great sort of other wines have their names of the countries or places where as they grow.

NOW SOME men that read this book, acknowledging themselves to be my scholars, would learn of me, because I teach Englishmen in this English book, what kinds of wines are of this sort?

I answer, that neither Sack, Malmsey, Muscadel, neither Clared [*Claret*], French nor Gascony wine—though they be most used here in England at this time—are such wines as GALEN speaketh of here; but Rhenish wine that is racket [*racked*] and clear, and Rochelle and Sebes and other small [*thin*] white wines that are clear from their grounds. Therefore to them that are disposed unto the headache, amongst all new wines, these above-named small wines are least hurtful, and may be taken with less jeopardy.

If any contend that French, Clared and Gascony wines, and other wines as strong as Gascony is, do as little hurt to the head as these wines do; I answer that the French, Clared and Gascony wines are not thin and subtle, but strong, thick, and hot.

BOTH French, Clared and Gascony Clared wines are of grosser and thicker substance, and hotter of complexion than white Rhenish wine and white French wines be of: therefore they breed the stone more than white Rhenish and white French wines do.

The Rhenish wine that is commonly drunken in gentlemen's houses and citizens' houses is commonly a year old at the least, before it be drunken: and therefore it is older than the common Clared wine, which dureth not commonly above one year; and if Rhenish wine be drunken within the year, it is commonly racked before it is drunken: therefore for two causes it hath fewer dregs and less terresity or gross earthliness than the Clared wine hath, and therefore breedeth the stone less than the Clared wine that is commonly drunk in gentlemen's houses doth.

HITHERTO DIOSCORIDES, whose words when he speaketh of the wholesomeness of wines against poisons, and the bitings and stingings of venemous beasts, must be understanded of Muscadine, Sack, Malmsey, and Bastard, and such hot wines: which, by reason of their heat, enter further into the body, and more speedily; and are better against cold poisons than colder wines be.

NOW, GOOD READER! seeing that Almighty GOD, our heavenly Father, hath given thee this noble creature of Wine, so many ways profitable for our bodies and minds, thank Him with all thy heart! not only for it, but also for that He hath sent learned physicians to tell thee how, in what measure, and in what time thou shouldest use them, and not use them; and for what complexions and ages they are good, and for what complexions and ages they are evil.

If thou take any harm in misusing this noble creature of GOD; blame not Him! but thine own self that hast abused it; contrary to His will, and to the learning of His officers and servants that taught thee the right use of it.

Honour be given to GOD for ever! Amen.

A politic plat for *the honour of the Prince, the great profit of the public State,* relief of the poor, preservation of the rich, reformation of rogues and idle persons, and the wealth of thousands that know not how to live. Written for a *New Year's Gift* to England, and the inhabitants thereof; by *Robert Hitchcock*, late of Cavers-field in the County of Buckingham, Gentleman.

Imprinted at London, by Iohn Kyngston.
1 *January,*
1580.

To the friendly Reader.

FORASMUCH *as the Almighty GOD hath blessed and enriched this noble Kingdom with the sweet dew of His heavenly goodness; and stored therein many hidden rich and pleasant treasures for our benefits, to reveal unto us when His good pleasure is: I think therefore, every man is rather born to profit his native soil and common weal in revealing the same secrets and hidden treasure to his country, if they be showed* [*to*] *him; than to seek after his own private gain and glory thereby. So I have taken upon me, good gentle Reader, to unfold some of the same hidden treasures to my country; which I suppose is manifested unto me. Albeit there be a great number that can more sweetly, and with pleasanter words and sugared style, than I, set out the matter to thee, if they knew it, in far better method and order; yet the zeal and duty I bear to my country, being partly fed with hope of thy good patience, gentle Reader, and partly emboldened with the forewarning that* Ecclesiastes c. ii. *giveth, which is,* That no man shall be condemned before his tale be told, and inquisition thereof made: *whereby righteous judgement may thereof follow lest he, as* SOLOMON *sayeth,* Procure to himself folly and shame, in giving sentence of a matter before he hear it:

These things, I say, have moved me to put forth my simple mind in writing to my country; and praying thee, of thy good courtesy, to peruse it, and to thoroughly weigh the depths thereof in the

balance of thy grave judgement: and if thou find the pith and carnel [kernel] *of my labour fruitful to thee and thy country, as I doubt nothing thereof but thou shalt; then may it be, that it hath pleased GOD to pour out His knowledge as well upon a soldier as upon a great clerk, for now and then wisdom may be shrouded under an unclean cloak. And I doubt not also, but the same reasons and duty that bound me these many years to travail in this action, to my great cost and charge, to find out the way and perfection thereof, shall also bind thee and move thee effectually to favour it; to further it in the Parliament House; and to defend my imperfection against a sort of* MOMUS *sect and* ZOILUS' *band, that can rather find fault with the man than with the matter, be it never so well, or any way put to their helping hands to amend the same (if it be not orderly). My care hath been to please my country, and the honest and grave sort thereof; which if this my travail shall do and content, I have cause to thank Almighty GOD for it, and think my time well spent.*

For in this little book, gentle Reader, thou shalt find (if the same be executed according to law) it importeth much matter, bringing great plenty and much wealth and benefit to all the inhabitants of this realm; it provideth for the poor in honest and decent manner, bringing them to a good and a godly vocation of life: with many other special benefits to this kingdom and commonwealth; which for tediousness' sake, lest I weary thee, I refer thee to the book itself, where they mayest at large see them with the eye, judge them by thy good discretion, wisdom and favour, and further them by thy good help and assistance at convenient time.

So fare thee heartily well,

ROBERT HITCHCOCKE.

The Epistle to England.

FOR ME, O noble and renowned England! to write to Thee, that hath bred and brought forth so many famous, honourable, wise, and learned men; who be not only most expert in all politic government, but also most happily furnished each way with all manner of knowledge, cunning, and wisdom, thoroughly seen in all the noble sciences and arts liberal: both Thou and they may think, and think truly, overmuch boldness and mere arrogancy in me, that neither am furnished of good letters, knowledge, histories, or other means to make a plausible way of that, or for that I wish should have good success at Thy hands, or of good opinion at theirs. Much more I am afraid lest Thou hold it outrage and presumption for me to dedicate unto Thee, and trouble Thee with the patronage and defence of this my device; a fruitless thing, as some may deem it, before it be thoroughly considered of them.

But since I am void of presumption, all manner of ways (GOD be my record), and am one of Thine own brood, fostered up with the fat of Thy loins; and take not upon me to discourse of vanities, but of the setting out of part of Thy flowing goodness that hath so embalmed this thy region with secret riches: though a world of eyes be poring in my face, I trust in Thy own cause and for Thine own sake, and [the] goodness of the matter itself, and for such reasons and arguments as I have set down, to find a great number of willing hearts, and well disposed minds—that with open mouth will confess the invention sound and good; and the means to bringing it to pass, both easy and profitable—to

further their native soil and the benefit thereof, with this my simple action I take in hand of displaying part of Thy riches.

And, therefore, the grave and wise men of this land, of their good grace and favour, I trust undoubtedly will accept, and take in good part, this my good will and long travail, and shroud and defend me and my book, under the wings of their wisdom, as under a sure anchor-hold, against the rash opinions of those that rather wilfully than wisely will imagine no politic provision can come from the sconse [*bulwark*] of a soldier that hath trailed the pike.

But as GOD raiseth instruments to set out His glory in divers ways, and by divers degrees; so let it not be grievous to Thee, O England! nor to the better sort of men, that one of Thine own, though not so finely as others, do set abroad part of Thy riches, wealth, and glory to enrich Thy own peculiar people withal; and hath opened the golden stream of Thy secret storehouse to the inhabitants of the same. But likewise, open Thou! by Thy divine providence the hearts of the wise, grave, and rich of this land that they will affect it, embrace it, put their helping hands to it, and willingly further it by all possible means they can, for the common profit of the inhabitants. Inasmuch as, by GOD's means, so great a benefit is offered with small care, little toil, and no cost; to make all this land blessed, the people thereof happy, strong, and invincible.

If I should particularly discourse the several commodities that flow from it, in particularity, and the number of all sorts of people within this land, that shall be maintained thereby; I should but weary you with a long tale, and keep you from the matter I desire you should know.

Therefore commending the goodness thereof to your wisdom, and me [*myself*] to your favourable exposition, I end.

Yours humbly, in all that I may, at commandment
during life, for the honour of Prince and country,
ROBERT HITCHCOCKE.

¶ FRANCIS HITCHCOCK.

To the readers of this, his brother's book.

S THEY of all most praise deserve,
That first with pen did show;
To us the sacred Word of God,
Whereby His will we know:
So many thanks are due to those,
That beat their restless brain,
To profit all both old and young,
That in this land remain.
Amongst the rest that well deserve,
Account the Author one:
Who by his toil hath here offered
To all, excepting none,
A banquet great, that savoureth sweet,
To such as hungry be;
Withouten cost, for aye to last,
To people of each degree.
Shake now the tree! and taste the fruit!
Of this his *New Year's Gift*:
Till purse be full, and strings do brake
With gold and groats of thrift.
Prepare thee then a grateful heart,
And sound the trump of fame:
In recompense of his good will
That HITCHCOCK hath to name.
Thus loth to keep thee from thy meat,
Wherewith I wish thee fed:
I stay my pen, and so farewell!
The table now is spread.

Vale.

Hitchcock's *New Year's Gift to England.*

The great care that the Queen's Majesty and her noble progenitors have taken to banish and root out of their dominions that loathsome monster Idleness (the mother and breeder of vagabonds) is most apparent by their wholesome laws and provisions, made from time to time; beginning at the worthy reign of King Edward III., King Richard II., and so descending to Her Majesty's most prudent and virtuous government: wherein as well public provisions hath been to help the common weal, as some sharp and severe punishment provided, if common policy would not serve. Yet, nevertheless, all these laws, so circumspectly made, could not, nor cannot banish that pestilent canker out of this common weal by any degree; but that the same increaseth daily more and more: to the great hurt and impoverishing of this realm.

For remedy whereof, Almighty GOD, by the most commodious situation of this Island, and His blessings, both of the land thereof, and of the sea wherewith it is environed, hath provided a most convenient mean[s]; both for labour for the idle, and for food, benefit, and riches for the inhabitants. Whereby, the lusty vagabonds and idle persons (the roots, buds, and seeds of idleness) shall at all hands and in all places be set on work, and labour willingly, and thereby prove good subjects, and profitable members of this common weal. This realm and the inhabitants bordering as well upon the sea as upon the land throughout the same, in short time to be marvellously enriched. Nine thousand mariners more than now pre-

sently there is, to serve in Her Majesty's ships at all times, if need be. The coins of gold and silver that issue plentifully out of this realm, to stay and abide within this land: for restraint whereof both Her Highness and her noble progenitors have made divers laws and statutes, but yet never could do the same. A ready means to cause foreign wares to be brought hither. Her Majesty's custom and subsidies greatly augmented. Her navigation [*shipping*] greatly increased. The towns bordering on the sea coasts, now in ruins and void of English inhabitants, to be peopled and inhabited by Her Majesty's own peculiar subjects; to the great strength of this realm, and terror of the enemy. Read the preamble of the statute 33 *HENRY VIII. c.* 2.

Besides the help that shall be ministered to two hundred [and] twenty and five decayed towns [? *villages*] in England and Wales; with a stock [*capital*] of two hundred pounds to every decayed town to set the poor on work. And to eight principal Port towns within this land, appointed for sundry causes appertaining to this Plat eight thousand pounds; which is to every principal Port town one thousand pounds, to be a stock for ever. Besides four hundred fishing ships to continue for ever. And two good Ships of War, furnished warlike, to defend the fishing ships. All which things, GOD willing, may be performed within three years, without cost or charge to any man, as by this Plat shall appear. And also an infinite number of people, as well rich and poor, set to work by divers means and degrees; which things will relieve many a poor man, and save many a tall fellow from the gallows.

For performance whereof. First, there must be made four hundred fishing ships, after the manner of Flemish Busses, of the burden of three score and ten tons the ship, or more, but none under: which will cost two hundred pounds the ship, with the furniture; if it be ready furnished to the sea in all things necessary. Every ship requireth one skilful Master to govern it, twelve mariners or fishermen, and twelve of the strong lusty beggars or poor men taken up through this land.

Which in the whole, amounteth to the number of ten thousand persons, at the first manning of the ships. So that with a little experience, this realm hath clearly increased nine thousand mariners more than were in this land before.

These ships so made, furnished, and manned must be appointed to such roads and haven towns as border upon the sea

coasts compassing this realm round about; beginning at London, and so orderly proceeding, according to the Table hereunto annexed. And being thus placed, having with them to the seas for their victuals, sufficient bread, beer, butter, and cheese; with barrels (empty), caske, and salt; with order also not to return until they be fully ladened: shall go yearly a fishing and kill herrings upon the coasts of England and Ireland, presently and always as they kill them, to gill them, salt, pickle, and barrel them, after the Flemish manner, with "salt upon salt,"[a] which is the best kind of salt. And shall fish for herrings yearly during the time of herring fishery, which is fourteen or fifteen weeks. In which time, by GOD's grace, every ship will kill, at the least, fifty last of the best sort of herrings; amounting in the whole to twenty thousand last. Every last, being sold but for £10, which is 16s. 8d. the barrel, draweth to £200,000 yearly for the best herrings only. Perhaps they may laden their ships twice yearly with herrings; and then this sum is doubled in that time of herring fishing.

And to the end that the herrings shall be wholesome for the subject, stranger, or for whomsoever shall buy them, and that the good usage thereof may gain credit where they shall happen to be uttered, they shall account in making of their herrings upon the sea, so as sixteen barrels made there, make but twelve barrels at their home coming to their several ports; when they shall be new sorted, severed, couched, and truly and justly packed by such honest and substantial men as shall be sworn and purposely chosen for that intent, and they to have two pence of every barrel, according to the statute for that purpose provided: dividing the full herrings into two several sorts, marking the biggest and best herrings with this several mark B: the second, with the second mark M: also the shotten herrings [*empty herrings, that have cast*

[a] JOHN COLLINS in *Salt and Fishery &c.*, 1682, *p.* 13, thus describes *Salt upon Salt, or Salt made by refining of foreign Salt.*

The Dutch, above fifty years since (finding the ill quantities and effects of French salt, both as to fishery uses and for curing of flesh for long voyages; besides the discolouring of butter and cheese) prohibited the use thereof by law: and being at war with Spain, traded to Portugal, St. Tubas, and the Isle of May for salt, granulated or kernelled merely by the heat and vigour of the sun; and fell to the refining thereof at home by boiling it up with sea water, and thereby cleansing it of three ill qualities, to wit, dirt, sand, and bitterness.

their spawn] with this proper mark, S. To the end, no man may be abused. Every barrel containing two and thirty gallons, according to the statute made 22 *EDWARD IV. c. 2*, which twelve barrels make a last.

Out of which said number of 20,000 last of herrings, nine or ten thousand last, will be a sufficient rate or portion to satisfy this whole realm. The residue, being 10,000 or 11,000 last, drawing to £100,000, being ordered as aforesaid, will be of as great estimation in France, as the Flemish herrings be: and will be sold and uttered in divers parts of that region; as in Normandy, in Nantes, in Bordeaux, and in Rochelle. And the further south that the countries do lie, the better utterance for fish. For these herrings, return will be made of all such necessaries as we want in this realm, viz., wine and woods (for which is always paid ready gold), Salt, Canvas, *Vitere* [*glass*], Dowlais, and divers other things. The custom also for the Queen's Majesty, being paid upon every last of that [which] shall be transported and sold beyond the sea, cometh to £5,000, after the rate of poundage, for this number of herrings only.

The other part of this great blessing of GOD may aptly be taken and applied, viz., these 400 Busses or fishing ships, may take cod and ling and New[found]land fish: the advantage and profit whereof, this realm and subjects, of late years, for the most part, have lost, and suffered strangers (the Flemings and other nations) to take. Who, seeing our careless dealing, have not only taken this beneficial fishing from us, but very warily doth sell the same commodity unto us; and thereby carrieth out of this land both gold and silver and a marvellous quantity of double double beer, and other things: satisfying us with these fishes, which through our own sloth, we lose; which being taken by ourselves, as a special blessing of GOD appointed unto us, and so sold to them and others, it must needs follow that we should save a a great mass of gold within this land. And for that fish they now utter unto us, we should receive of them the commodities of the Low Countries, viz., Holland cloth, rape oil, hops, madder, all sorts of wire, and divers other merchandise; or else their ready gold and money, whereby this realm and subjects should be mightily enriched.

This great benefit is no less to be valued for the profit of this realm and subjects, than the benefit [only] of the herrings.

For every ship, being but of the burden of 70 tons, if GOD bless it with safe return from Newfoundland, will bring home to his port in August, 20,000 of the best and middle sort of wet [*fresh*] fish (at the least) called blank fish, and 10,000 dry fish; which being sold on the ship's return, as it may be, at Newhaven [*Hâvre*] in France but for forty shillings the hundred of wet fish (which is not four pence the fish), and twenty shillings the hundred of dry fish (which is not two pence the fish), amounteth to £500 at the least.

Likewise any other of the ships, but of the like burden, going a fishing to the Ward House [*near North Cape*], to Iceland, to the North seas of England and Scotland, or to Ireland, cometh home, at the same time, laden with 15,000 cod, and 10,000 ling: which being sold but for forty shillings the hundred, one with another, amounteth to £500.

And besides that, every ship will bring home to his port, four or five tun of oil made of the fish livers, worth to be sold for £12 the tun.

The way how this Plat shall be brought to pass and performed, without cost or charges to any man, is by borrowing of £80,000 for three years; which forty men in a shire will and may easily accomplish, if every man lend but £50, upon good assurance, after the rate of ten pounds yearly upon every £100 lent: which sums shall be repaid again within three years, at two payments.

In what sort this money shall be levied is set down in the first Table following.

The second Table doth declare to whom, and to what principal Port towns the money shall be delivered, how it shall be used, who shall give assurance for the same, and therewith provide the foresaid ships.

The third Table doth show to what haven towns these fishing ships shall be placed; and how the money shall be levied to make payment of the money borrowed, and to answer all charges.

And in the fourth Table is set down, how many decayed towns, in every shire, shall have a continual stock [*capital*] of £200 a piece, to set the poor on work for ever. Also how every man shall be pleased and liberally considered, that shall be appointed to the execution of this Plat. And how the payments of the money borrowed, with the interest money for the time of forbearance, shall be made and paid at two payments.

The order of borrowing £80,000 for three years, not charging above 40 persons in any one shire to lend £50 a man, of the Lords, Bishops, Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other rich men spiritual and temporal, in these shires following: accounting London for a shire; all South Wales for a shire; and all North Wales for a shire. And for that it is for the common weal, the two Parliament Knights and two Justices of the Peace of every shire to name the parties in every their shires that shall lend the money; and appoint one sufficient man of good credit in every shire to collect the same money, and then to deliver it to the Chief Officers of every the eight principal Port towns in the next Table.

The Chief Officers of every of these eight principal Port towns hereunder written, shall give the seal of every Port town, for the assurance of every several sum borrowed; to be repaid within three years, at two payments. And with the said money to them delivered, shall provide fifty ships ready furnished to the sea, according to the true meaning hereof: and deliver them to the haven towns in the next Table, as they be there appointed, taking bonds of every the same haven towns or fishing towns within their charge, for the payment of £150 for every ship yearly, during three years; with which payment this Plat shall be performed, and every man well pleased, that shall take pains in the execution of the same Plat.

The Money to be Levied.			The Principal Ports.		
In London, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of London, whose seal, as above written, must be given by the said Chief Officers for the repayment of the said sum to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them
In Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of Yarmouth, whose seal, as above written, must be given by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them
In Yorkshire, Richmondshire, Lincolnshire, Rutlandshire, Leicestershire	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of Hull, whose seal, as above written, must be given in by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them
In Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, [The] Bishopric [of Durham], Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of Newcastle, whose seal, as above written, must be given in by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them

(*Concluded on*

These ships must be placed within the roads and fishing towns, all along the sea coasts, beginning at London, and compassing this land by sea, according to this Table. The Governors of every fishing town must provide one skilful Master, twelve fishermen or mariners, and twelve poor men to serve in every ship, with all needful things; and then set them to the sea to take fish, for the profit of their town and the common weal. At whose returns, the Governors aforesaid shall see that the fish of every ship be used, as is declared in the *ORDERS* of this Plat. Out of which, they shall pay for every ship yearly, during three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of that principal Port town, that placed the said ships to these roads following.

The Chief Officers of the said eight principal Port towns, at May Day next after their First Year's receipt, shall yearly pay and discharge all fees and wages, with other payments in the *ORDERS* more at large mentioned, both of the money borrowed with the interest money; and for making of two Ships of War, with their wages, as also to the said Port towns £8,000, to be a stock for ever. And to the end the poor people in all places may be speedily relieved; they shall, out of the First Year's receipt, pay to the Governors of five decayed towns in every shire following £1,000, to be a stock of £200 to every town for ever, to set the poor on work. SUM, £45,000 for 225 decayed towns, according to this Table.

ROADS.	SHIPS.	PAYMENTS.	PAYMENTS BY THE CHIEF OFFICERS.
at LONDON ..... 5 Stepney parish ..... 5 Greenwich ..... 5 Woolwich ..... 5 Arithe [*Erith*] ..... 5 Gravesend ..... 5 Quinborough ..... 5 Rochester ..... 5 Lee ..... 5 Malden 5	Every town to pay for every ship yearly, during three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of LONDON. *SUM*	£7,500 of	LONDON, for fees £500; and to the decayed towns in Middlesex £1,000; in Essex £1,000; in Suffolk, £1,000; in Hertfordshire, £1,000; in Cambridgeshire, £1,000; in Huntingdonshire, £1,000; in Norfolk, £1,000. — £7,500
at Colchester ..... 5 Harwich ..... 5 Ipswich ..... 5 Dunwich ..... 5 YARMOUTH ..... 5 Orford ..... 5 Alborough ..... 5 Blakeney ..... 5 Dasyngham [*Dersingham*] 5 Burnham 5	Every town to pay for every ship yearly, during three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of YARMOUTH. *SUM*	£7,500 of	YARMOUTH, for fees £500, and for wages to two Ships of War for the First Year £4,000, and for the making and furnishing of two Ships of War to the sea, warlike, £3,000. — £7,500
at Wells ..... 5 Lynn ..... 5 Saltfleet ..... 5 Wainfleet ..... 5 Boston ..... 5 Grimsby ..... 5 Barton ..... 5 HULL ..... 5 Beverley ..... 5 York 5	Every town to pay for every ship yearly, during three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of HULL. *SUM*	£7,500 of	HULL, for fees £500; to the decayed towns in Yorkshire, £1,000; in Richmondshire, £1,000; in Lincolnshire, £1,000; in Rutlandshire, £1,000; in Leicestershire, £1,000; in Northamptonshire £1,000; and in Warwickshire £1,000. — £7,500
at Bridlington ..... 5 Whitby ..... 5 Scarborough ..... 5 Flamborough ..... 5 Hartlepool ..... 5 Durham *cum* Shields ... 5 NEWCASTLE ..... 5 Tynemouth ..... 5 Holy Island ..... 5 Berwick 5	Every town to pay for every ship yearly, during these three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of NEWCASTLE *SUM*	£7,500 of	NEWCASTLE, for fees £500; to the decayed towns in Northumberland. £1,000; in Cumberland, £1,000; in Westmoreland, £1,000; in [the] Bishopric, £1,000; in Nottinghamshire, £1,000; in Derbyshire, £1,000; and in Lancashire, £1,000. — £7,500

next two pages.)

(*Continued from*

THE MONEY TO BE LEVIED.			THE PRINCIPAL PORTS.		
In Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, The six shires in North Wales	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of WEST CHESTER [*Chester*] whose seal, as above written, must be given by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them
In Somersetshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Monmouthshire, The six shires in South Wales	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of BRISTOW [*Bristol*] whose seal, as above written, must be given in by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them
In Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of EXETER whose seal, as above written, must be given in by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them
In Hampshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Sussex, Kent	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of SOUTHAMPTON, whose seal, as above written, must be given in by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships, of 70 tons the ship, and place them

SHIRES... 44. SUM COLLECTED...£80,000. PORTS..8. SHIPS TO BE MADE...400.

With the Second Year's receipt the Chief Officers of the said eight principal Port for the Second Year, which is .....
And also shall make payment of the one half of the money borrowed, which is
And for the Interest money of the whole sum borrowed for two years .....
SUM of the payments the Second Year .....

And the said Chief Officers, with the Third Year's receipt in like manner aforesaid, which is.....
And the wages of the two Ships of War for the same year, which is also .....
And likewise they shall pay the other half of the money borrowed, which is.....
And for the Interest of that Third Year .....
And also £1,000 to every one of the eight principal Port towns, to be a Stock
SUM of the Third Year's payments .....

two previous pages.)

ROADS.	SHIPS.	PAYMENTS.	PAYMENTS BY THE CHIEF OFFICERS
at Carlisle, Workington, Isle of Man, Lyrpoole [*Liverpool*], WEST CHESTER, Beaumaris, Bangor, Holyhead, Carnarvon, Punthelle [*Pwllheli*]	5 each	Every town to pay for every ship yearly, during these three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of WEST CHESTER. *SUM* £7,500	WEST CHESTER, for fees £500 · to the decayed towns in Cheshire, £1,000; in North Wales, £2,000; in South Wales, £2,000; in Monmouthshire, £1,000; and in Herefordshire, £1,000. £7,500
at Gloucester, BRISTOW, Newport, Bridgewater, Chepstow, Cardiff, Pembroke, Hartforde [?], Carmarthen, Padstow	5 each	Every town to pay for every ship, during these three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of BRISTOWE. *SUM* £7,500	BRISTOWE, for fees £500; and to the decayed towns in Somersetshire £1,000: in Shropshire, £1,000; in Staffordshire £1,000. And for the wages of two Ships of War for the Second Year's service, £4,000. £7,500
at Foy [*Fowey*], Truro, Melbroke [nr Plymouth], Saltash, Penryn, Sawkom [*Salcombe*], EXETER, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Poole	5 each	Every town to pay for every ship, during these three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of EXETER. *SUM* £7,500	EXETER, for fees £500; and to the decayed towns in Cornwall, £1,000; in Devonshire, £1,000; in Wiltshire, £1,000; in Oxfordshire, £1,000; in Gloucestershire, £1,000; in Worcestershire, £1,000; and in Dorsetshire, £1,000. £7,500
at Lynn, Weymouth, Newport [I. of W.], SOUTHAMPTON, Portsmouth, Chichester, Rye, Dover, Faversham, Sandwich	5 each	Every town to pay for every ship during these three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of SOUTHAMPTON. *SUM* £7,500	SOUTHAMPTON, for fees £500; [and] to the decayed towns in Hampshire £1,000; in Sussex, £1,000; in Kent, £1,000; in Surrey, £1,000; in Berkshire, £1,000; in Buckinghamshire, £1,000; and in Bedfordshire, £1,000. *SUM* £7,500
ROADS...80.	SUM YEARLY...£60,000.		SUM paid by the Chief Officers, the First Year, £60,000

towns shall discharge and pay all fees and wages, as beforesaid,

.....	£4,000
.....	£40,000
.....	£16,000
.....	——£60,000

shall discharge and pay all fees and wages of the Third Year,

....	£4,000
.....	£4,000
(All which in the *ORDERS* more at large doth appear.)	£40,000
.....	£4,000
for ever	£8,000
.....	——£60,000

¶ *ORDERS.*

N PRIMIS. Every one of these eight principal Port towns, London, Yarmouth, Hull, Newcastle, Chester, Bristol, Exeter, and Southampton, must have two honest and substantial men of credit, to be Chief and Principal Officers of every [of] these said ports; who shall, as Treasurers and Purveyors, jointly deal together in all causes to this Plat appertaining.

First, in receiving all sums of money that be appointed to every the said ports, laying it up safely with their town's treasure. And therewith to provide fifty fishing ships with all things needful for them, ready to the seas, with such careful consideration as [if] the money were their own. And that every ship be both strong and good, and not under the burden of three score and ten tons. And then for to appoint them to the roads and haven towns in the third Table of this Plat specified; that is to say, five ships to every fishing town. Taking order also that every of these ships may have one skilful Master to govern it, twelve mariners coast men or fishermen, and twelve poor men taken up to serve in every of them. And to take bonds of every town, whereunto the said five ships shall be delivered, for the payment of £150 out of every ship yearly, during three years. This being done, the said five ships shall be given to the fishing town for ever. With proviso, that if any ship or ships of the whole number miscarry or be lost by any kind of chance or degree: then all the rest [of the 400 Busses], viz., every ship of the number remaining, shall pay Ten Shillings towards the new making of every ship so wanting, to the Chief Officers where the ship is lacking: with which money they shall provide again one other new ship, furnished with all things, as aforesaid. Which law shall be kept inviolate amongst them for ever, upon pain [of] every ship that shall be found in fault at any time, to forfeit for every offence Five Pounds: and the same to be levied and received by the order of statute law; but the whole benefit to the same town or towns where the ship or ships be wanting.

And the same sixteen Chief Officers shall have allowed them for their fees yearly, during the said three years, £1,600,

that is to every Officer £100 yearly. Also in the end of the third year, there shall be given in recompense to every of the said eight principal Port towns £1,000 to be a stock, to remain in the same towns for ever, as hereafter shall be declared.

These Busses or fishing ships, thus placed in four score fishing towns, as five ships to every fishing town, shall be set forth to the seas by the Governors of every several fishing town to take fish, as the times and seasons of the year do serve.

First, in March, having victuals for five months with hooks, lines, and salt (provided by the said Governors and their assistants) they shall be set out to fish for cod and ling, where the said Governors by the consent of the town, liketh best; or else to Newfoundland for Newland fish [*Newfoundland cod*]: and, by the grace of GOD, in August at the furthest, they shall come home to their several ports; ladened with fish and train oil made of fish livers. Which fish shall forthwith be divided into three equal parts. The first part to the Master and fishermen for their pains. The second part to them that were at the charges of victuals, salt, lines, and hooks. The third part to be laid up under safe keeping, until time serve best to sell the same, or to be vented where most profit may be made.

Then again, with all speed, presently after the fish is divided, every ship being victualled for six weeks with nets, caske, and salt, they must be set out to fish for herrings, tarrying upon the seas, until they be fully ladened. Then they return again to their several ports, if GOD bless them with good luck and a safe return, ladened with fifty last of the best herrings. Every ship, if wind and weather serve, may return twice ladened with herrings, in that time of herring fishing. And always, as the ships with herrings do come to their several ports, the said Governors shall cause the said herrings to be divided into four equal parts. The first part, to the Master and the mariners for their pains. The second part, to them that provide the salt and victuals. The third part, to them that find the caske and nets. And the fourth part, to be laid up under safe keeping until it may be vented. Out of the which portion of herrings and of the other fish aforesaid shall be paid on the first day of April yearly (next after the First Year, that the ships of this Plat

begin to fish) £150 for every ship yearly during three years, by the Governors of every fishing town that so shall have regard of their returns and use of the goods, where the ships be placed. Which payment shall be paid to the Chief Officers of that principal Port that did place the said five ships to the same town.

And then after the three years be expired, the third part of great fish and the fourth part of herrings shall be and remain for ever to every fishing town where the fishing ships be at the day of the last payment. Out of which, the five ships shall yearly be repaired and maintained by every fishing town, for the profit of the same town and the benefit of the common weal.

When the herring fishing is past, then, with all convenient speed, the Governors aforesaid shall appoint some of their ships to take fish upon the coasts of England, Scotland, or Ireland: and send other some into France or elsewhere with cod, ling, herrings, and Newland fish, there to utter them, making return with such commodities as will be best uttered here, or else with salt and money. By which return it will be time to make ready for the fishing in March, as before. Thus the whole year is spent in fishing.

There must be an Auditor for receiving all accounts that shall appertain and depend upon the execution of this Plat: such as it shall please the Parliament House to nominate and appoint. Who shall receive of the sixteen Chief Officers aforesaid £800 yearly, during three years, viz., of the Chief Officers of every principal Port upon his quittance [of the accounts], £100 for his fee. Which said Auditor must ride from every principal Port to other, to see and to provide that all and every of the five decayed towns, within every shire in England and also twenty decayed towns in Wales have the stock of £200 truly paid to every one of them, according to this Plat, and that it be used accordingly, viz., that the Governor of every the decayed towns with the said stock of £200 shall diligently and carefully provide yearly such commodities to set the poor on work, as the nature of the country doth yield for most profit. And that the poor people that laboureth be paid weekly their wages: converting the benefit of their travail into the increase of the same stock. And that the said Auditor take knowledge how many there be at work

in every place by that means: and with what commodities the said poor people are set to work in every shire. And for that there shall be no partiality in naming of the decayed towns, the two Parliament Knights, with two Justices of [the] Peace in every their shire, to name and appoint the ancient decayed towns in every shire, for to have the said stock of £200, according to the fourth Table of this Plat. And being subscribed under their hands, to deliver it to the said Auditor in the First Year that the fishing ships aforesaid be set to the sea to fish.

There must also be a Comptroller joined in commission with the Chief Officers of every principal Port town, for the providing of all things needful at the best hand. Who must ride to every Port and fishing town, and to all other places where these ships be either made, bought, or placed; to see that all things may be justly performed, according to the true meaning of this Plat, and to be done with all expedition. Who may by this order, and without grief to this Plat, receive for his fee £800 yearly during three years, viz.: of the Chief Officers of every principal Port town, £100 upon his quittance, for his pains and charges, and for the charges of his servants and ministers that must be and remain in many several ports and places, to see to the due execution of the Plat in all points. Which said Comptroller, the author wisheth should be such a man as would bend his wits for the common weal, and could so well execute the same as for himself. For then he should be able to declare in all places what is to be done, and what should be done at every extremity to avoid any danger.

The Officers of every the said eight principal Port towns shall appoint one honest, virtuous, discreet, and learned man to preach GOD's Word; which Preachers shall travel continually, as the Apostles did, from place to place, preaching in all the fishing towns and decayed towns appointed to every several port: and every Preacher shall receive for his maintenance £100 yearly, during three years, of the Chief Officers of that same principal Port town, whereunto he is appointed.

And also that order may be had from the Queen's Majesty, that two of Her Grace's Ships of War, such as yearly be appointed to waft [*convoy*] the merchants, may continue upon

Her Majesty's seas from the first of March until the last of November yearly, for two years, for the defence of these fishing ships. And towards the charges of the same two Ships of War, the Chief Officers appointed for Yarmouth and Bristol, shall pay yearly, during two years, £4,000. Which ships if they cannot be had, then the said Auditor and Comptroller shall with that money provide two other Ships of War for the same cause. Also the said Auditor and Comptroller who ride all the whole circuit of this land for the performance of this Plat, shall make a declaration once a year to the Right Honourable Lords, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral of England, and Lord Privy Seal of the whole state cause, and proceedings of this Plat. To be the end, that their Lordships may use their honourable considerations for, and in redress of things needful.

Provided always, that if the Chief Officers of any of the said eight principal Port towns do find just cause that there is some insufficiency either in any of the fishing towns where the five ships are placed; or else in the Governors of the same town such negligence that this fishing cannot prove profitable; or that it is not used according to the effect or true meaning of this Plat: then, upon just proof or information made to the Lords aforesaid, the same Officers of that principal Port, by consent of the Comptroller and Auditor, with others from the said Lords, may remove the same ships from any such fishing town and appoint them elsewhere within their several charge, where they may be both better placed, and for the common weal more profitable.

The same sixteen Chief Officers of the said eight principal Port towns for the time being, after their first year's receipt, which amounteth to £60,000, shall at May Day next following, deduct of the same receipt £4,000 for fees and wages due, and to be paid to themselves, to the Auditor, to the Comptroller, and to the eight Preachers, as before is appointed for that First Year. Likewise out of the same receipt, they shall pay £45,000 to the Governors of 225 decayed towns, viz., to every decayed town £200 to be a stock for ever to set the poor people on work, as it is appointeth in the fourth Table of this Plat. Also the Officers of Yarmouth, out of the said receipt, shall pay to two Ships of War £4,000 for their wages at the First Year. All payments paid for the First Year.

There remaineth of the said receipt £7,000, whereof the Officers of Bristol hath in their hands £4,000, as by their payments appeareth, which is for to pay the Second Year's wages to the two Ships of War for defending the fishermen the Second Year: the other £3,000 is in the hands of the Officers of Yarmouth aforesaid, as by their payments likewise appeareth, which shall be by them bestowed upon making of two Ships of War of the burden of 160 tons the ship, after the best and strongest manner, in warlike sort; and to furnish them with store of all needful things to the sea, as appertaineth to Ships of War; and also with ordnance, powder, shot, armour, weapons, and all other provision necessary. These several sums of money amounteth to £60,000: which is the First Year's receipt.

The Second Year's receipt of £60,000 being received by the said sixteen Chief Officers, of the aforesaid eight principal Ports: they shall deduct out of the same, £4,000 for fees and wages to content and pay themselves, the Auditor, the Comptroller, and the eight Preachers for the Second Year, in like manner as aforesaid. Also they shall pay to the lenders of the money, the one half of the money borrowed, which is £40,000, and the interest money of the whole sum borrowed for two years, which is £16,000. Which payments amount to £60,000. And that is the just receipt and payment of and for the Second Year.

The Third Year's receipt of £60,000 being received in like manner by the aforesaid Chief Officers of the said eight principal Ports: they shall deduct out of the same, £4,000 for fees and wages to be paid as aforesaid unto themselves, the Auditor, the Comptroller, and the eight Preachers for the same Third Year. And likewise £4,000 for wages to two Ships of War for the same Third Year, as by the Officers of every principal port town £500. Then they shall pay to the lenders of the money, the other half of the money borrowed, which is £40,000, and the interest money for that third and last year, which is £4,000. All which payments amount to £52,000.

This fishing Plat thus being performed, all payments paid, and every man that hath taken pains in the execution of the same very well pleased and contented, there doth remain £8,000 in the hands of the Chief Officers of the said principal Ports,

viz.: £1,000 with the Chief Officers of every principal Port, as appeareth by their receipts and payments, which shall be allowed unto the same eight principal Port towns amongst them, viz.: to every principal Port town £1,000, to be a stock for ever for the profit and benefit of the same town: and yearly to be used for profit to such fisher towns and fishermen, as upon good assurance will use any part thereof in the trade or craft of fishing.

And when this is done and brought to pass I will declare a device appertaining to this Plat, that shall, if it please GOD, be worth £10,000 yearly for ever, without cost or charges to any man, neither offending nor encroaching upon any person with the same device: which is to maintain the aforesaid Ships of War, warlike, yearly for ever, with wages, victuals, soldiers, and mariners, and all other kind of charges; and also to maintain all the aforesaid Officers and Preachers their yearly fees for ever.

Unto either of the same two Ships of War, there must be appointed one skilful and valiant Master, the Master's Mate, four Quarter-masters, a Purser, a Master Gunner, and 120 soldiers and mariners. The Master to have for wages, Four Shillings a day; every other Officer Two Shillings a day; and every soldier or mariner Twelve Pence the day for wages. The order for their diet of victuals all the whole year; and what money is to be allowed for the yearly reparations of the said two Ships of War; and how all this shall be maintained for ever: I have set down in writing. And after this Plat, with the great benefits growing universally to this realm, shall be thoroughly considered, drawn into perfect form, and put in execution by authority of Parliament (which is the power of the whole Commonalty of England), I will deliver the same where it shall be thought meet.

The times and places of the yearly fishing for Cod and Ling.

FIRST for cod: upon the coast of Lancashire; beginning at Easter, and continueth until Midsummer.

For Hake: in the deeps betwixt Wales and Ireland; from Whitsuntide until Saint James'tide.

For cod and ling: about Padstow, within the Land's End and the Severn, is good fishing from Christmas until Mid-Lent [*March*].

There is an excellent good fishing for cod about Ireland, where doth come yearly come to fish 300 or 400 sail of ships and barks out of Biscay, Galicia, and Portugal, about the south-west parts, near to Mackertymors country [? *Baltimore, see p.*]; and do continue April, May, June, and July.

Also for cod and ling: on the west and north-west of Ireland; beginning at Christmas, and continueth until March.

And there is one other excellent good fishing upon the north of Ireland.

Also for Newland fish, upon the banks of Newfoundland. The ships go forth from England and Ireland in March, and come home laden in August.

There is an excellent good fishing for them that will go further for cod and ling in the rivers of Backlasse [?]: continuing April, May, June, and July.

Also for cod and ling: upon the north coasts of England and upon the coasts of Scotland and the northern Isles of Scotland; continuing from Easter until Midsummer.

The like for cod: upon the east coast of Friesland, Norway, and Shetland; from Easter until Midsummer.

To fish for cod and ling in Iceland; the ships commonly must go forth in March, and return ladened in August.

The like manner and time is used for cod and ling from England to the Ward House [*near North Cape*]; where is excellent good fishing, April, May, and June.

The times and places for the yearly fishing for Herrings.

THE HERRINGS shoot out of the deeps on both sides of Scotland and England, and beginneth upon the Scots coast at Midsummer, and be not merchantable (but yet vendible) because they be so fat, by reason whereof they will grow reasty [*rancid*] if they be kept: and therefore they be presently [*immediately*] sold.

The second and best fishing beginneth at Bartholomewtide [24 *August*] at Scarborough, and so proceedeth along the coast, until they come to the Thames' mouth, continuing very

good until Hollentide [1 *November*]. All which time they be very good and merchantable, and will abide the salting very well.

The third fishing is from the Thames' mouth through the Narrow Seas: yet not certain, for after that time, they shoot suddenly through the same seas, upon any extreme weather, on both sides of Ireland. Which fishing doth continue until the feast of Saint Andrew [30 *November*].

Also upon the coast of Ireland is very good fishing from Michaelmas until Christmas. For there, is great plenty of herrings.

Also upon the north-west seas of England, over against Carlisle in Cumberland, about Workington, is good fishing for herrings, from Bartholomewtide until fourteen days after Michaelmas.

Also from Hollentide [1 *November*] till Christmas, upon the coast of Norway (that serves all the East [*Baltic*] Countries) called the Mull sand [?] where all strangers do fish, paying their custom, a youghendale [? *a thaler*] upon every last, to the King of Denmark. But sometimes the frosts be so great there, that the herrings will not take salt.

[*The Hunting of the Whale.*]

THERE is another exercise to breed profit, called the hunting of the whale, which continueth all the summer. The whale is [found] upon the coasts of Russia, towards Moscovy and Saint Nicholas [*Archangel*]. The killing of the whale is both pleasant and profitable, and without great charges, yielding great plenty of [train] oil, the tun whereof is worth £10. One of the ships may bring home to his port 50 tuns, the which is worth £500.

OBJECTIONS;
and the
ANSWERS of the Author.

¶ *First, What moves you to think that there will be found forty men in every Shire of England, that will lend £50 a man, for three years, in this covetous time, when every man is for himself?*

THIS realm of England and Wales is very populous, and the most part be the poorer sort of people, who daily do harken [*look*] when the world should amend with them. They are indifferent in what sort, so that their state were relieved; and so perhaps apt to assist rebellion, or to join with whomsoever dare invade this noble Island, if any such attempt should be made. Then are they meet guides to bring the soldiers or men of war to the rich men's wealth. For they can point with their finger, "There it is!" "Yonder it is!" "Here it is!" "And he hath it!" and, "She hath it that will do us much good!" and so procure martyrdom with murder to many wealthy persons, for their wealth. Therefore the wise and wealthy men of this land had need, by great discretion, to devise some speedy help therein; that this poorer sort of people may be set to some good arts, science, occupations, crafts, and labours, by which means they might be able to relieve themselves of their great need and want. And being brought to such vocation of life, having some good trade to live upon, there is no doubt but that they will prove good and profitable subjects; and be careful to see this common wealth flourish; and will spend their lives and blood to defend the same, and their little wealth, their liberties, their wives, and children. For having nothing, they are desperate; but having some little goods, they will die before they lose it. Wherefore if this matter be looked into with eyes of judgement, there is no doubt of borrowing the money upon the assurance and interest. For I do know in some Shires four men that will gladly lend so much money as the whole shire is appointed to lend. In Holland and Zealand the rich men make so sure account of their fishing, that they appoint their children's portions to be increased by that use.

¶ *I pray you, show me by what occasion or means this huge number of beggars and vagabonds do breed here in England; and why you appoint twelve of them to every ship? I think they may carry the ship away and become pirates.*

F YOU consider the poverty that is, and doth remain in the shire towns and market towns, within this realm of England and Wales; which towns being inhabited with great store of poor householders, who by their poverty are driven to bring up their youth idly, and if they live until they come to man's [e]state, then are they past all remedy to be brought to work. Therefore at such time as their parents fail them, they begin to shift, and acquaint themselves with some one like brought up, that hath made his shift with dicing, cosening, picking or cutting of purses: or else, if he be of courage, plain robbing by the wayside, which they count an honest shift for the time, and so come they daily to the gallows.

Hereby grows the great and huge number of beggars and vagabonds which, by no reasonable means or laws, could yet be brought to work, being thus idly brought up. Which perilous state and imminent danger that they now stand in, I thought it good to avoid by placing twelve of these poor people into every fishing ship; according to this Plat.

Who when they shall find and perceive that their diet for all the whole year is provided, and that two voyages every year will yield to every man for his pains £20 clear, and for ever to continue; by which honest trade they shall be able to live in estimation amongst men; whereas before they were hated, whipped, almost starved, poor and naked, imprisoned, and in danger daily to be marked with a burning iron for a rogue, and to be hanged for a vagabond. When they shall find these dangers to be avoided by their travail, and thereby an increase of wealth to ensue: they will be glad to continue this good and profitable vocation, and shun the other. Besides that it is well known that six mariners or seafaring men are able to rule and govern twelve land men that be not acquainted with the sea: and therefore [it is] to be doubted that this kind of people will prove pirates; they be so base-minded. For the heart, mind, and value of a man is such, and his spirit is so great, that he will travel all the kingdoms

of Princes to seek entertainment; rather than he will show his face to beg or crave relief of thousands of people, that be unworthy to unbuckle his shoes: and in his great want, will take with force and courage from them that hath, to serve his necessity; thinking it more happy to die speedily, than to live defamed and miserably. Of which sort of people, at the breaking up of wars, there are a great number of worthy and valiant soldiers, that have served in the wars with invincible minds: who, through want of living, either depart as aforesaid; or else, if they tarry in England, hanging is the end of the most part of them.

¶ *How may so many ships be provided, for want of timber, masts, cables, pitch, and iron? And where shall Masters and mariners be had; with other needful things, as salt, nets, and caske?*

O THAT, I must put you in mind of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, that of late years, have flourished with ships, mariners, and fishermen; and thereby proved of marvellous wealth. No country more [so]. And all the timber they used for their ships came from the dominions of other Princes. Their cables, masts, pitch and tar came from the countries under the King of Denmark; the sails for their ships, the thread for their nets came from Normandy and Brittany; their salt came from France, Portugal, and Spain; and their iron came from the countries of other Princes.

We need not doubt of these things. For there are ships presently to be bought (for the sums of money appointed for every ship) both here in this realm, and in Holland, France, and in other places. And if there were not, I could name the places in this realm where there is plenty of timber. If you do remember the great and wonderful woods of timber trees that are in Ireland, you will shake off that doubt. And for iron; that there is great plenty made within this land, I may call to witness the inhabitants of the Forest of Dean, the county of Sussex, with other places. And for all other needful things; the havens, ports, and realm of England lieth nearer to those countries where plenty is, than those of the Flemings do.

And for Masters; there are plently of coast men, which will gladly serve that place, that be sufficient men. And for

mariners; there is great store of poor fishermen all along the coast of England and Wales, that will willingly serve in these fishing ships, and use the craft of fishing: their gain will be so great. And for salt; there is great plenty made at the Witchs [*Droitwich, Nantwich, Northwich*] in Cheshire, and in divers other places; besides many salt houses standing upon the coast of England, that make salt by seething of salt sea water. And besides there is the great store of salt that will be brought yearly into England by the merchants and others, to make "salt upon salt." Also for caske; there is a great store of oak, ash, and beech growing in many places of England; so that there can be no want of caske if there be use to use it; nor yet of any other thing aforesaid, if good consideration be had.

This Plat, being put into execution, will breed such store of mariners that whensoever the noble Navy of England shall be set to the seas for the safeguard of this land; there shall be no want of mariners to serve in the same: whereas now they be both scant and hard to be found. Look back into Holland! where practice is used; and see what store is there!

¶ *You appoint ten thousand last of herrings to be sold in France. How can that be, so long as the Flemings, the Frenchmen, and other nations do fish; who have already won the credit of their fish? They shall sell, when we cannot; then where shall the fish taken by us be uttered?*

HERE is no doubt but there will be ten thousand last of herrings to spare, this realm being served, if these four hundred fishing ships with these fishermen be appointed to the seas: for they will take their place to fish within the Queen's Majesty's seas; and so shall serve both England and France plentifully, and also better cheap than the Flemings are able to do. And the herrings, cod, and Newland fish, being used in such sort as the Flemings do, will be of as great estimation as theirs be, and may yearly be sold and uttered in France; as at Dieppe that serves and victuals all Picardy; at Newhaven [*Hâvre*] that serves all base [*lower*] Normandy; and at the town of Rouen, that serves all the high countries of France; for thither cometh yearly three hundred lighters, called *Gabers*, with wines, of ten or twelve hundred tuns a Gaber;

and their best return is fish and salt. And for the other parts of France, as Rochelle and Bourdeaux; also the merchants that travel into Spain, Portugal, Italy, Barbary, and Africa, carrying fish: the further south and south-west that the fish, well used, is carried; the dearer it is, and greatly desired. Wherefore let all men fish that will, of what country soever, for there is fish in plenty in these northern seas for them all, if there were a thousand sail of fishing ships more than there is; and the English nation shall and may weary them out for their travail and labour: where they fish is not far; their ports, harbours, and roads be at hand; their ships cost the fishermen nothing. Therefore the Englishmen shall better be able to sell good cheap [*cheaper*] than any other nation; by means whereof they shall sell when others cannot. And so the Flemings being put from uttering their herrings in France, shall be driven to leave their great ships; and to fish in smaller vessels near the shore to serve their own turns: as heretofore they have caused us to do, for fear of them and every tempest; triumphing at our folly, for not taking this great benefit and blessing of GOD poured into our laps.

¶ *How do you know that nine or ten thousand last of herrings will serve all England? And when wars shall happen between England and France, where shall we sell the rest of our herrings and other fish; the Flemings being provided for by their own people?*

BY ESTIMATION, five thousand last of herrings do serve London; out of which portion, all the shires about London are served. And by the like estimation, five thousand last more will serve all England.

And if wars should happen between France and England; then the Italians, Spaniards, Flemings, and other nations do bring into England all sorts of French commodities, as wines, woad, lockromes [*lockrams*, a kind of linen], and canvas of all sorts. These merchants will daily look for profit: and in time of wars nothing doth pass with less danger, sooner is vented and made ready money, than these herrings, cod, ling, and Newland fish. So there is no doubt of utterance for fish, either in wars or in peace.

Let experience of other countries serve for this wholly. And I think it good to let you understand how herrings were sold in France, *anno* 1577.

The best Flemish herrings were sold for £24 10s. the last. Yarmouth herrings (who, of late, do use and order their herrings as the Flemings do) were sold for £20 12s. the last. Irish herrings, for £18 the last. Coast herrings and Scotch herrings, for £11 the last.

These differences be in herrings, which being used as is set down in this Plat, will be in all places (within a little time) equal in goodness with the Flemish herrings.

¶ *In what order do the Flemings, the Frenchmen, and others fish for herrings, cod, and Newland fish ?*

IRST behold this sea Plat or proportiture here set down showing how the same strangers do fish in their great ships upon the English coast: and how our English men, for fear of them and of every tempest, as aforesaid, do fish in small vessels near the shore.

[Here follows in the original work a large half geographical, and half emblematic map of the German Ocean, in which main sea are great ships marked "Flemish Busses," and by the English coast, smaller vessels marked "The English Fishermen."

On this map, is the following inscription.

Anno Domini. 1553. Serving the Emperor CHARLES V. in his wars [*also at Berwick, see p.* 215.]; looking into the state of Holland and *Z*ealand, I saw that their wealth and great increase of mariners grew by fishing. For at that time, there went yearly out of these twelve towns, Dunkirk, Nieuport, Ostend, Sluys, Flushing, Middleburg, Camfere, Setikseas, [? *Zieriksee*] Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Delf Haven, and Brill, above 400 Busses or great ships to fish for herrings upon the East Coast of England. A similitude thereof, is here set down in this proportiture.]

The Flemings set out of Flanders, Holland, and *Z*ealand yearly at Bartholowmewtide [24 *August*] four or five hundred Busses, to fish for herrings upon the East Coast of England;

where before they fish, they ask leave at Scarborough, as evermore they have done: with which honour (and no profit) this realm and subjects hath hitherto been vainly fed. And amongst them, this is the order. One man provides the ship, another the victuals and salt, the third the caske, the fourth the nets: and when the ships come home they divide the fish.

There goeth out of France commonly five hundred sail of ships yearly in March to Newfoundland, to fish for Newland fish, and come home again in August. Amongst many of them, this is the order. Ten or twelve mariners do confer with a money [*monied*] man, who furnisheth them with money to buy ships, victuals, salt, lines, and hooks, to be paid his money [back] at the ship's return, either in fish or money, with £35 upon the £100 in money lent.

Likewise here in England, in the West Country, the like order is used. The fishermen confer with the money [*monied*] man, who furnisheth them with money to provide victuals, salt, and all other needful things; to be paid £25 at the ship's return, upon the £100 in money lent. And for some of the same money, men do borrow money upon £10 in the £100, and put it forth in this order to the fishermen. And for to be assured of the money ventured, they will have it assured [*insured*]; giving £6 for the assuring of every £100 to him that abides the venture of the ship's return: as thus. A ship of Exeter is gone to the Ward House, to fish for cod and ling. The venture of the ship, salt, and victuals is £300. For £18 all is assured. So that if the ship never return, yet the money [*monied*] man gaineth *declaro* [clear] £48 [? £57], and his principal again.

So by these reasons there seemeth great good to be done by fishing when other men being at such charges do prove rich by using this trade. Shall not the English nation that thus shall fish (the greatest charges cut off) be more able to sell good cheap than any others may: and so weary them out, as aforesaid.

¶ *You say that much gold goeth forth of this land for wines and other French commodities: I pray you, to what value in the year doth the wines of France brought into England amount unto? And what several sorts of English wares be sold in France to buy the same?*

DO ESTEEM to come into England, every year, ten thousand tuns of Gascony and Rochelle wines, which at twenty crowns the tun, amounteth in English payment, to £60,000. The fleet that goeth from London to Bourdeaux, carrieth commonly victuals, ballast, and some cloth. For the money is always made over by exchange out of London, out of Flanders, and out of Spain. And the ships that go from other places of this realm, as from Bristol, Wales, Westchester, Newcastle, Hull, and elsewhere to the Vintage, carrieth (contrary to the law) leather, calves' skins, butter and tallow, with ready gold, as they may provide it all the whole year before.

At Rouen in France, which is the chiefest vent [*mart*], be sold our English wares, as Welsh and Manchester cottons, Northern Kerseys, Whites, lead, and tin: which money is commonly employed in Normandy and Brittany in all sorts of canvas with other small wares, and in lockromes, *viterie*, and dowlass [*coarse linen*], Pouldavis, Olyraunce [?], and Myndernex [?]; part[ly] for ready money, partly for commoditie[s]. And woad is commonly ladened at Bourdeaux and uttered there to our nation and others for money or cloth, or else not [sold at all]. These sorts of wares bought in France, besides the wine, amounts by estimation to six times as much as all the English wares that be sold for in France every year. And for a truth this trade of fishing is the best, and of lightest cost that can be found, to counteract the values of the French commodities. Experience doth show the same by the Flemings, who with their green [*undried*] fish, barrelled cod, and herrings, carry out of England for the same, yearly, both gold and silver and other commodities, and at the least ten thousand tuns of Double Double Beer, and hath also all kinds of French commodities continually, both in time of wars and peace, by their trade only of fishing. Thus the great sums of gold that are carried yearly out of this land to the Vintage, as appeareth by this* Plat following, will stay: and wines, nevertheless, and other French wares of all sorts will be had and obtained for herrings and fish.

* Another curious emblematical design occurs here: with *No wines from Bordeaux, but for gold*, and *I bring gold from England for Wines.*

¶ *When you put your fishing Plat into the Parliament house, what did you conceive by the speech of such burgesses as you conferred with of the same?*

N THE eighteenth year of the Queen's Majesty's reign, five or six days before the Parliament house brake up [*i.e., March* 1576], I had the Burgesses of almost all the stately Port towns of England and Wales at dinner with me at Westminster: amongst whom the substance of my Plat was read, and of every man well liked; so that some were desirous to have a copy of the same, and said that "they would, of their own cost and charges, set so many ships to the sea as was to their towns appointed, without the assistance of any other." Of the like mind, were the Burgesses of Rye; and some said it were good to levy a subsidy of two shillings [in the pound] on land, and sixteen pence [in the pound on] goods, for the making of these fishing ships. Of which mind the Speaker, Master BELL, was; saying, "A Parliament hath been called for a less cause." Other some said, "It were good to give a subsidy for this purpose to ship these kind of people in this sort; for if they should never return, and so avoided [*got rid of*], the land were happy: for it is but the riddance of a number of idle and evil disposed people." But these men that so do think, will be of another mind within two years next after this Plat takes effect, as when they shall see, by this occasion only; such a number of carpenters and shipwrights set on work; such a number of coopers employed; such numbers of people making lines, ropes, and cables; dressers of hemp, spinners of thread, and makers of nets; so many salt houses set up to make salt, and "salt upon salt." And what a number of mariners are made of poor men; and what a number of poor men are set on work in those shires all along upon the sea coast in England and Wales in splitting of fish, washing of fish, packing of fish, salting of fish, carrying and recarrying of fish, and serving all the countries [*counties*] in England with fish. And to serve all those occupations aforesaid, there must depend an infinite number of servants, boys, and day labourers, for the use of things needful. And withal to remember how that about England and Wales, there is established in four score haven towns, five fishing ships to every town to continue for

ever, which will breed plenty of fish in every market; and that will make flesh [*butcher's meat*] good cheap. And that by the only help of GOD and these fishermen, there shall be established within England and Wales, to 225 decayed towns; a stock of £200 to every decayed town, which shall continue for ever to set the poor people on work. And to conclude, I do carry that mind, that within few years there will be of these fishing towns of such wealth, that they will cast ditches about their towns, and wall the same defensively against the enemy to guard them and their wealth in more safety. What Englishman is he, think you! that will not rejoice to see these things come to pass. And, for my part, I perceive nothing but good success is likely to come of this Plat.

To further the same, I gave a copy hereof to my Lord of LEICESTER six years past [1573], another copy to the Queen's Majesty four years past [1575]. Also to sundry of her Majesty's Privy Council, certain copies. And in the end [*March* 1576] of the last Parliament, holden in the said eighteenth year of her Majesty's reign, I gave twelve copies to Councillors of the law, and other men of great credit [*See Dr. DEE's notice on* 1 *August* 1576, *at p.* 65]; hoping that GOD would stir up some good man to set out this work, which the Author (being a soldier, trained up in the wars and not in the schools, with great charges and travail of mind, for his country's sake) hath devised and laid as a foundation for them that hath judgement to build upon.

Amongst whom, Master LEONARD DIGGES, a proper gentleman and a wise, had one copy, who, being a Burgess of the house, took occasion thereupon to desire licence to speak his mind concerning this Plat, saying that he spake for the common wealth of all England and for no private cause. He (by report) did so worthily frame his speech for the common weal of his country; that he hath gained thereby both fame and great good liking of all the hearers; and so concluded, desiring that this device might be read: which, for want of time, was deferred until their next assembly in Parliament.

FINIS.

Rev. WILLIAM HARRISON, B.D.
Canon of Windsor, and Rector
of Radwinter.

ELIZABETH arms England, which
MARY had left defenceless.

Rev. William Harrison, B.D. Canon of Windsor, and Rector of Radwinter.

Elizabeth arms England, which Mary had left defenceless.

[Book II., Chap. 16 of *Description of England*, in Holinshed's *Chronicle*. Ed. 1587[-8]. Reprinted by F. J. Furnivall, M.A., for *New Shakspere Society*, *p.* 278, Ed. 1877.]

How well, and how strongly our country hath been furnished, in times past, with armour and artillery, it lieth not in me, as of myself to make rehearsal.

Yet that it lacked both, in the late time of Queen Mary; not only the experience of mine elders, but also the talk of certain Spaniards, not yet forgotten, did leave some manifest notice.

Upon the first, I need not stand: for few will deny it.

For the second, I have heard that when one of the greatest Peers of Spain [*evidently in Queen Mary's reign*] espied our nakedness in this behalf, and did solemnly utter in no obscure place, that "It should be an easy matter, in short time, to conquer England; because it wanted armour!" his words were then not so rashly uttered, as they were politicly noted.

For, albeit, that, for the present time, their efficacy was dissembled; and semblance made as though he spake but merrily: yet at the very Entrance of this our gracious Queen unto the possession of the Crown, they were so providently called to remembrance, and such speedy reformation sought, of all hands, for the redress of this inconveniency, that our country was sooner furnished with armour and munition from divers parts of the main [*the Continent*], besides great

plenty that was forged here at home, than our enemies could get understanding of any such provision to be made.

By this policy also, was the no small hope conceived by Spaniards utterly cut off; who (of open friends, being now become our secret enemies; and thereto watching a time wherein to achieve some heavy exploit against us and our country) did thereupon change their purposes: whereby England obtained rest; that otherwise might have been sure of sharp and cruel wars.

Thus a Spanish word uttered by one man at one time, overthrew, or, at the least, hindered sundry privy practices of many at another time.

In times past, the chief force of England consisted in their long bows. But now we have in manner generally given over that kind of artillery, and for long bows indeed, do practice to shoot compass for our pastime; which kind of shooting can never yield any smart stroke, nor beat down our enemies, as our countrymen were wont to do, at every time of need. Certes, the Frenchmen and Reitters [*i.e., Reiters, the German or Swiss Lance-knights*] deriding our new archery, in respect of their corslets, will not let, in open skirmish, if any leisure serve, to turn up their tails, and cry, "Shoot, English!" and all because our strong shooting is decayed, and laid in bed.

But if some of our Englishmen now lived, that served King EDWARD III. in his wars with France: the breech of such a varlet had been nailed to his back with one arrow; and another feathered in his bowels, before he should have turned about to see who shot the first.

But as our shooting is thus, in manner, utterly decayed among us one way: so our countrymen wax skilful in sundry other points; as in shooting in small pieces, the caliver, and handling of the pike; in the several uses whereof, they are become very expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations; and therefore consisteth of corslets, almain rivets, shirts of mail, jacks quilted and covered with leather, fustian, or canvas over thick plates of iron that are sewed in the same. Of which, there is no town or village that hath not her convenient furniture. The said armour and munition like-

wise is kept in one several place of every town, appointed by the consent of the whole parish; where it is always ready to be had and worn within an hour's warning.

Sometimes also it is occupied [*used*], when it pleaseth the magistrate, either to view the able men and take note of the well keeping of the same; or finally to see those that are enrolled, to exercise each one his several weapon: at the charge of the townsmen of each parish, according to his appointment. Certes there is almost no village so poor in England, be it never so small, that hath not sufficient furniture in a readiness to set forth three or four soldiers (as, one archer, one gunner, one pike, and a bill-man), at the least. No, there is not so much wanting as their very liveries [*uniforms*] and caps; which are least to be accounted of, if any haste required. So that if this good order continue, it shall be impossible for the sudden enemy to find us unprovided.

As for able men for service, thanked be GOD! we are not without good store. For by the Musters taken in 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1,172,674; and yet they were not so narrowly taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left unbilled and uncalled.

What store of munition and armour, the Queen's Majesty hath in her storehouses, it lieth not in me to yield account; sith I suppose the same to be infinite. And whereas it was commonly said, after the loss of Calais, that England would never recover the store of ordnance there left and lost; the same is proved false: since some of the same persons do now confess that this land was never better furnished with these things in any King's days, since the Conquest.

The names of our greatest ordnance are commonly these:

Robinet, whose weight is 200 lbs.; and it hath $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches within the mouth.

Falconet, weighing 500 lbs., and his wideness is 2 inches within the mouth.

Falcon hath 800 lbs., and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches within the mouth.

Minion poiseth [*weigheth*] 1,100 lbs., and hath $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches within the mouth.

Sacre hath 1,500 lbs., and is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide in the mouth.

Demi-Culverin weigheth 3,000 lbs., and hath $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches within the mouth.
Culverin hath 4,000 lbs., and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches within the mouth.
Demi-Cannon, 6,000 lbs., and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches within the mouth.
Cannon, 7,000 lbs., and 8 inches within the mouth.
E. Cannon, 8,000 lbs., and 7 inches within the mouth.
Basilisk, 9,000 lbs., and $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches within the mouth.

By which proportions, also, it is easy to come by the weight of every shot, how many scores [*i.e., of yards*] it doth fly at point blank, how much powder is to be had to the same, and finally how many inches in height, each bullet ought to carry.

The names of the Great Ordnance hath	Weight of the Shot. lbs.	Scores [of yards] of carriage.	Pounds of Powder.	Height of Bullet. Inches.
Robinet	1	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	1
Falconet	2	14	2	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Falcon	$2\frac{1}{2}$	16	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Minion	$4\frac{1}{2}$	17	$4\frac{1}{2}$	3
Sacre	5	18	5	$3\frac{1}{4}$
Demi-Culverin	9	20	9	4
Culverin	18	25	18	$5\frac{1}{4}$
Demi-Cannon	30	38	28	$6\frac{3}{4}$
Cannon	60	20	44	$7\frac{3}{4}$
E. Cannon	42	20	20	$6\frac{3}{4}$
Basilisk	60	21	60	$8\frac{1}{4}$

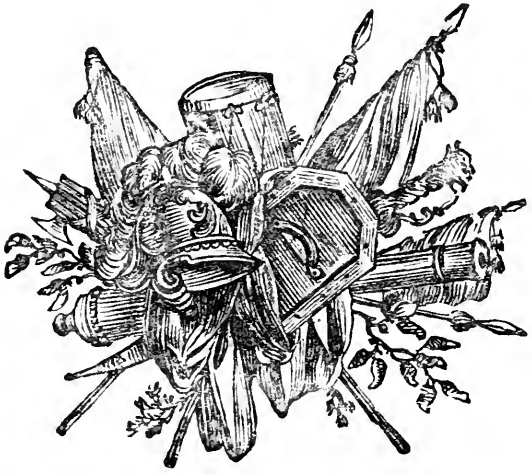
As for the Armouries of some of the Nobility (whereof I also have seen a part), they are so well furnished, that within some one Baron's custody, I have seen three score or a hundred corslets at once; besides calivers, hand-guns, bows, sheafs of arrows, pikes, bills, pole-axes, flasks, touch-boxes, targets, &c.: the very sight whereof appalled my courage.

Seldom shall you see any of my countrymen, above eighteen or twenty years old, to go without a dagger at the least, at his back or by his side; although they be aged

burgesses or magistrates of any city who, in appearance, are most exempt from brabling and contention.

Our Nobility commonly wear swords or rapiers, with their daggers; as doth every common serving man also that followeth his lord and master.

Finally, no man travelleth by the way, without his sword or some such weapon, with us; except the Minister, who commonly weareth none at all, unless it be a dagger or hanger at his side.



The most dangerous and memorable adventure

of RICHARD FERRIS, one of the five ordinary Messengers of Her Majesty's Chamber: who departed from Tower Wharf, on Midsummer Day last past, with ANDREW HILL and WILLIAM THOMAS; who undertook, in a small wherry boat, to row, by sea, to the city of Bristow; and are now safely returned.

Wherein is particularly expressed their perils sustained in the said Voyage: and the great entertainment they had at several places upon the coast of England, as they went; but especially at the said city of Bristow.

Published by the said RICHARD FERRIS.

LONDON

Printed by JOHN WOLFE for EDWARD WHITE, and are to be sold at his shop, being at the Little North Door of Paul's, at the sign of the *Gun*. 1590.

To the Right Honourable Sir THOMAS HENEAGE Knight, one of Her Majesty's honourable Privy Council, Vice-Chamberlain to Her Highness, and Treasurer of Her Majesty's Chamber; prosperous health! long life! and much increase of honour!

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THE late dangerous attempt, rashly by me undertaken, to row in a small boat to the city of Bristow [*Bristol*], along the perilous rocks, breaches, races, shelves, quicksands, and very unlikely places for passage with such small boats, along the coast of England, is now, by the assistance of Almighty GOD, truly performed: as appeareth by our several certificates ready to be seen; with our safe return, contrary to the expectation of sundry persons. Which being truly and particularly discoursed, I have presumed to dedicate unto your Honour; wherein may plainly be seen, how we adventured to pass the force of dangerous flaws and rough seas, which we found in our voyage; and proveth the attempt the more

strange in respect that I was never trained up on the water. Not doubting but the same may be a just occasion to prick forward others of my native countrymen, to practise an ordinary passage through the like dangers, in such small wherry boats; especially when necessary occasion shall serve, the better to daunt the enemies [*the Spaniards*] of this nation; who in such flaws and frets at sea, dare not hazard their galleys to go forth, though they be of far greater force to brook the seas.

Thus humbly desiring your Honour's favourable acceptance hereof, I end: beseeching GOD to send health and long life to Her Majesty, my dread Sovereign and most gracious Mistress! peace to this land! and to your Honour, even your heart's desire!

Your Honour's
Most humble to command,
RICHARD FERRIS.

RICHARD FERRIS, his travels to Bristow.

AFTER that I had rashly determined to pass the seas in a wherry, and to row myself in the same to the city of Bristow, though with the evil will of sundry my good friends; and especially full sore against my aged father's consent, now dwelling in the city of Westminster, where I was born: I thought it convenient to seek out some one expert pilot, to direct me and my companion by his skill, the better to pass the perils and dangers, whereof I was foretold. Whereupon, I took unto me one W. THOMAS, a man of sufficient skill and approved experience; by whom I was still content to be advised, even from my first going forth, until my last coming home.

The boat wherein I determined to perform my promise was new built; which I procured to be painted with green, and the oars and sail of the same colour, with the Red Cross for England, and Her Majesty's arms, with a vane [*pennon*] standing fast to the stern of the said boat: which being in full readiness, upon Midsummer Day last [*June* 24, 1590], myself, with my companions, ANDREW HILL and WILLIAM THOMAS, with a great many of our friends and well-willers accompanying us to the Tower Wharf of London, there we entered our boat: and so, with a great many of our friends in other like boats, rowed to the Court at Greenwich: where before the Court Gate, we gave a volley of shot.

Then we landed and went into the Court, where we had great entertainment at every Office; and many of our friends were full sorry for our departing.

And having obtained leave before, of the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain [*Lord HUNSDON*], the Lord Admiral [*Earl of NOTTINGHAM*], and Master Vice-Chamberlain [*Sir THOMAS HENEAGE*] for my departure: I took my leave, and so departed. Setting up our sails, and taking to our oars, we departed towards this our doubtful course.

And first we took our way to Gravesend; and from thence, to these places hereafter mentioned, namely:

To Margate.
To Dover.
To Newhaven, in Sussex.
To Portsmouth.
To Sandwich [? *Swanage*] in Dorsetshire.
To Abbotsbury.
To Lyme.
To Seaton.
To Teignmouth.
To Dartmouth.
To Salcombe.
To Plymouth.
To Low [*Looe*], in Cornwall.
To St. Mawes, in Falmouth.
To the great bay at Penzance, called Mounts Bay.
To St. Ives, at the further side of Land's End.
To Godrevy.
To Padstow.
To Bottrick's Castle, which is in the race of Hartland *alias* Harty Point.
To Clevelley [*Clovelly*].
To Ilford Coume [*Ilfracombe*].
To Mynett [? *Minehead*] high cliffs.
And, lastly, to the City of Bristow.

At these places before recited, we stayed and refreshed ourselves. Sometimes we were constrained to put into these places for want of victuals; sometimes, for to have their certificates to testify of our being there; sometimes, we were weather bound; and sundry accidents worth the noting, happened unto us in many of these places: and our welcome in all places deserveth due commendations, the particulars whereof hereafter followeth.

After we had passed Gravesend as is aforesaid, we came to the land's end; then we bent our course to Margate; which place having passed, we wan the Foreland, with some high billows.

From thence, to the South Foreland: and soon after, we put in at Dover; where we stayed about six hours, and where we were greatly entertained.

From thence, we took to the Camber nestes [?] which

is between Rye and Dover; and so along the main sea towards fair Lee [? *Fairlight*].

Then we rowed or sailed along the coast, until we came to Beachy [Head], and passing by it, we harboured at Newhaven, in Sussex.

Where we had reasonable good weather, till we came between the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth. There, we had a great storm; and were in such sort, overpressed with weather that we were constrained to make towards a castle called Hurst Castle: from whence, at the fall of wind and tide, we put forth again to sea, and recovered Sandwich [? *Swanage*] in Dorsetshire.

From thence, we passed through a race called St. Albans, which is a headland; where we were in a great fret by reason of the race; and so continued hazarding our lives by means of that fret, to the great and dangerous race of Portland: where, by the good direction of our pilot and master, we sought and strove by great labour, to take the advantage of the tide and weather; whereby we passed through it in one hour. Here did the billows rise very high, so that we were in great danger: yet, GOD be thanked! we escaped them without any damage.

From thence, we passed to Lyme Bay, where we stayed but one night: and from thence to Seaton.

At which place, we were compelled to carry and lift up our boat on shore, by extremity of foul weather; for we were there in great danger, by reason of frets, sands, and foul weather, which greatly troubled us.

From thence, we went to Teignmouth; and so to Dartmouth. There we remained two days, and had good entertainment and great courtesy offered us by the inhabitants thereof.

And upon the next day morning, being Sunday, we put to sea again. There being a fair wind and tide, we came to the Start, where the wind rose and hemmed us in round about into a very dangerous race (this was on the 15th of July); where we were in such an extremity that we had like to have been drowned: yet it pleased GOD so far to work for us, that we escaped the danger thereof.

Which done, we went to the Westward, to Salcombe. There, we were constrained to haul up our boat in a cove

called Sower Mill, behind a rock, near to Sir WILLIAM COURTNEY's, a very bountiful Knight; at whose house we lay all that night, and he would have had us to have stayed longer.

But from thence, having fair weather, we came to Plymouth.

Here we met with Her Majesty's ships, where Master Captain FENNER and Master Captain WILKINSON gave us great entertainment, especially for that they saw we had leave given us from the Right Honourable Her Majesty's Council, for our quiet and safe passage. And for that I was Her Majesty's Messenger, they gave us the greater entertainment. We stayed there one night.

From thence, we went to Lowe [*Looe*], and there stayed one night.

And from thence, to St. Maws, with very calm and good weather, until we came to the Lizard, being a place well known to be most dangerous, and full of rocks and races: where, GOD be thanked! we passed in the current of the tide, with great swiftness but with wonderful danger; where, had it not been well looked unto, of the Master, we had been all cast away.

Then we did cut over the Mouse Bay to Mouse hole; which is four miles beyond the Mount: where we were constrained for want of necessary victuals, to come back again to Penzance; where we lodged all night.

The next morning [*July 20th*], we set out to go for Land's End; where setting from Penzance with our half tide, to recover the first of the tide at Land's End, we being in our boat a great way from the shore: our Master descried a pirate, having a vessel of four tons; who made towards us amain, meaning doubtless to have robbed us. But doubting [*fearing*] such a matter, we rowed so near the shore as we might. And by that time as he was almost come at us, we were near to a rock standing in the sea; where this pirate thought to have taken us at an advantage. For being come close to the outside of the said rock, called Raynalde stones [? *Rundlestone*]; he was becalmed, and could make no way, and so were we. But GOD (who never faileth those that put their trust in Him!) sent us a comfort unlooked for. For as we rowed to come about by this rock, suddenly we espied a plain and very

easy way to pass on the inner side of the said rock; where we went through very pleasantly; and by reason thereof, he could not follow us. Thus we escaped safely; but he was soon after taken, and brought in at Bristow.

Here we found great breaches, races, and rocks; the wind being then northerly and altogether against us: which was wonderfull[y] painful, troublesome, and dangerous to us. Nevertheless, GOD be thanked! we escaped in safety; and recovered St. Ives: where we were well entertained.

The next day, we put to sea again: but being within five miles of St. Ives, we were constrained to seek for a cove; which we found called St. Dryvey, in Cornwall.

Here, for that we wanted victuals, our Master was constrained to go climb the great cliff at Godrevy, which is at least forty fathoms high and wonderfull[y] steep; which none of us durst venture to do: and GOD be blessed for it! he had no harm at all; but surely, to all likelihoods, had his foot once slipped, there could have been no recovery to have saved him, but that he would have been bruised to pieces. At this place we stayed two days, at Master ARUNDEL's house; where we were greatly welcomed.

And from thence, we went to Bottrick's Castle, where dwelleth a Gentleman called Master HYNDER. There we were weatherbound, and constrained to stay full seventeen days; where we had great entertainment: he himself offering us "if we would stay a whole year, we should be welcome!" and the rather, for that I was one of Her Majesty's servants.

But upon the eighteenth day, the foul weather ceasing, we did again put to sea, through the race of Hartland *alias* Harty Point; which is as ill as the race at Portland: which we escaped, and recovered to Clevelley [*Clovelly*]; where we were entertained by a very courteous Gentleman, called CAREY.

And from thence, we came to Ilford Coume [*Ilfracombe*]; which was on Saturday at night, the 1st of August last past.

Whereupon for that we were so near Bristow, I desired my company, that we might put to sea that night; which they were loth to do; yet, at my importunate suit, they granted thereto. But being at sea, the wind arose very sore

from the land; which put us all in great fear: whereby I myself was constrained to row four hours alone, on the larboard side; and my fellow rower was compelled to lade forth water (so fast as it came into the boat) which beat upon me and over me very sore, the wind then being East-and-by-South.

Thus was I constrained to labour for life, and yet had almost killed myself through the heat I took, in that time: rowing, as is aforesaid, until we came to Mynette [*Minehead*]. This done, we went from Mynette; and so, between the two homes [?] came to Bristow, in one tide: and arrived at the back of Bristow, about six of the clock at night.

But it was wonderful to see and hear what rejoicing there was, on all sides, at our coming! The Mayor of Bristow, with his brethren the Aldermen, came to the water side, and welcomed us most lovingly; and the people came in great multitudes to see us; insomuch as, by the consent of the Magistrates, they took our boat from us, not suffering us once to meddle with it, in that we were extremely weary: and carried our said boat to the High Cross in the city. From thence, it was conveyed to the Town House, and there locked safe all night.

And on the next morning, the people gathered themselves together, and had prepared trumpets, drums, fifes, and ensigns [*flags*] to go before the boat; which was carried upon men's shoulders round about the city, with the Waits of the said city playing orderly, in honour of our rare and dangerous attempt achieved.

Afterwards, we were had to Master Mayor's, to the Aldermen's and Sheriffs' houses; where we were feasted most royally, and spared for no cost, all the time that we remained there.

Thus having a while refreshed ourselves after our so tedious labours; we came to London, on Saturday, being the 8th of August, 1590: where, to speak our truth without dissembling, our entertainment at our coming was great and honourable; especially at the Court, and in the cities of London and Westminster. And generally, I found that the people greatly rejoiced to see us in all places.

To conclude. I have given order that the said boat shall be brought by land from Bristow to London; where the watermen and sundry others have promised to grace the said boat with great melody and sundry volleys of shot; which is very shortly intended to be performed.

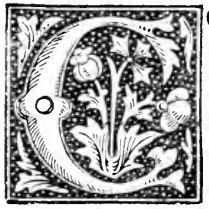
Here is to be remembered that between Harty Point and Clevelley, the wind being very strong, my companion and oar-fellow, ANDREW HILL, in taking down our sail, fell overboard into the sea: where, by great goodhap, and by means that he held fast to a piece of our sail, we recovered him and got him up again, although he were a very weighty man; which if we had not done, I could not have gotten any man to have supplied his room. But when we saw that he was amended; we gave GOD thanks for his recovery.

Thus to GOD, I, with my fellow mates, give most hearty prayers and thanks for our safe deliverance from so imminent dangers as we have been in, since our departure from the Court at Greenwich: being still defended by the mighty and handy work of Almighty GOD. To whom, we, in all obedience and duty, daily pray for the prosperous health of Her Majesty and her honourable Council, whose lives and welfare are the strength and maintenance of this land; and whom Almighty GOD prosper and preserve, now and ever! Amen.

RICHARD FERRIS.

FINIS.

A new Sonnet made upon the arrival and brave entertainment of RICHARD FERRIS with his boat; who arrived at the city of Bristow, the 3rd day of August 1590.



COME, old and young! behold and view!
A thing most rare is to be seen!
A silly wherry, it is most true!
Is come to town, with sail of green;
With oars, colour of the same:
To happy FERRIS' worthy fame!

From London city, this wager sure,
Was for to bring his wherry small,
On surging seas if life endure,
From port to port, hap what hap will!
To Bristow city of worthy name,
Where FERRIS now hath spread his fame.

His boat not bulged, but at High Cross,
Was seen the third of August, sure;
Whereby the man hath had no loss,
But did each willing heart procure
For to be ready there in haste,
To see the boat that there was placed.

O mighty JOVE! thou guide of guides!
Which brought this boat from surging seas
Clean from the rage of furious tides;
No doubt, FERRIS! GOD thou didst please!
Both thou and thine which were with thee,
You servèd GOD! He set you free!

Good ANDREW HILL, thy pains were great!
And WILLIAM THOMAS', in this wherry!
And honour, FERRIS, sure, doth get!
He doubtless means to make you merry!
  Your fame is such, through travail's toil,
  You win the spur within our soil.

Shall I prefer this to your skill:
No, no! 'twas GOD that did you guide!
For this, be sure! without His will
You could not pass each bitter tide.
  But, pray! you did no doubt, each hour,
  Whereby GOD blest you, by His power.

O gallant minds and venturous bold!
That took in hand, a thing most rare.
'Twill make the Spaniards' hearts wax cold!
If that this news to them repair,
  That three men hath this voyage done,
  And thereby wagers great have won.

But now we may behold and view
That English hearts are not afraid,
Their Sovereign's foes for to subdue:
No tempest can make us dismayed!
  Let monstrous Papists spit their fill!
  Their force is full against GOD's will.

Hath silly wherry done the deed,
That galleys great dare not to try!
And hath she had such happy speed,
That now in rest on shore she lie!
  Doubtless the LORD, her pilot was!
  It could not else been brought to pass.

Well, FERRIS, now, the game is thine!
No loss thou hast! (thank Him above!)
From thy two mates, do not decline;
But still in heart, do thou them love!
So shall thy store increase, no doubt;
Through Him that brought thy boat about.

I end with prayers to the LORD,
To save and keep our royal Queen!
Let all true hearts, with one accord,
Say, "LORD, preserve Her Grace from teen!
Bless, LORD! her friends! confound her foes!
For aye, LORD save our royal Rose!"

JAMES SARGENT.

FINIS.

Captain ROBERT HITCHCOCK of Caversfield.

The English Army Rations in the time of Queen ELIZABETH.

[An Appendix to W. GARRARD's *The Art of War*. 1591.]

Captain HITCHCOCK served under the Emperor CHARLES V. in 1553; he must have been an old and experienced Officer, when drawing up this Proportion. Berwick-upon-Tweed was the principal Fortress, the Portsmouth of England, down to the accession of JAMES I. HITCHCOCK tells us that he was also there in 1551, in command of 200 Pioneers.

FOR THAT *there hath somewhat been said touching Towns of War and fortifications, soldiers of judgement do know that a place besieged by the power of a mighty Prince, cannot long endure, without there be within the same, a sufficient number of men, munition, and victuals. When any of these three things lack, the enemy will soon have the place besieged. Therefore the said Captain* HITCHCOCK, *who hath been the cause of printing this book,* Of War, *doth think it good, to join to the same work, this short Discourse, which declareth what Proportion of victuals will serve* 1,000 *soldiers in a garrison, where the victuals must be provided by Her Majesty's Victualler. As for example, we will make our Proportion for Berwick; wherein I will show*

how the Chief Victualler's and the Petty Victuallers' gains and profits shall rise; that men may look therein, whereby all doubts and questions that may grow for that service shall be avoided: and the garrison, at all times, well furnished with things necessary and needful for victualling of one thousand soldiers; and after that proportion, as the number shall fall out, more or less.

Within this General Proportion hereafter, I do declare first for bread and beer, the bakehouse and brewhouse; the grayners [granaries] *for store; the windmills, the horse mills, with their implements; the caske, and other necessary things; the charges of men, horses, and carriages to the same belonging; with their wages and allowance for their travail and service. How this Proportion is to be provided, used, delivered, and spent? in reading over this little work following, you shall find very short and plain.*

ROBERT HITCHCOCK.

[All the prices in the following General Proportion should be multiplied by 5 or 6, to give present value.]

A General Proportion and order of provision for a year of three hundred, three score and five days, to victual a Garrison of one thousand soldiers.

The Order for the Bakehouse.

THE SOLDIERS having one pound and a half of good wheaten bread for one penny, or one pound and a half of good white bread for one penny halfpenny; the Bakers to answer for every Quarter of wheat (being sweet, good, and merchantable, delivered at Berwick) at 20s. a quarter. Clear of all charges and waste, which happeneth afterwards by keeping the grayners [*granaries*]; or any other (except casualty of the enemy) after the delivery thereof.

Necessaries and implements, wood, wages of clerks, bakers, millers, carters, labourers, or any other, for the bakehouses; windmills, grayners, or carriage of provision, and for horse and carts for the same are to be found by this rate and [as]size of bread, without any other allowance to be demanded: saving for waste, and charges of as much wheat as the use of baking shall be otherwise employed, than to be delivered in bread by them, who were charged with the receipt from the ships and keeping the grayners of the same.

The bakehouses, windmills, and grayners being furnished with implements and necessaries at the entrance into service; and in good order of reparation, are so to be maintained and kept, in and by all things, except casualty of the enemy. And are to be delivered at the departure from service, in as good order and furniture of all things as they were first received.

And considering the charge to maintain the bakehouse, with the appurtenances and allowance to the Petty Victuallers of the Garrison, after 21 loaves of bread for 20. A Quarter of good wheat will make in good bread (by order of this book), 25s.; so have ye of every Quarter for charges 5s., and after four quarters the day, for the whole year £365

That is to say, for wood to bake a Quarter of meal in loaf bread 16d., and after four Quarters the day for a year. SUM ... . £97 6s. 8d.

And for this reparation of the bakehouse and the appurtenances yearly £50

Wages and victuals of two clerks, two millers, four bakers, and four labourers yearly £150

Maintenance of horse for carriage in this charge yearly, [is] ... ... £72 13s. 4d.

All these allowances are found in the [as]size of bread, besides the bran.

The whole Garrison, being as before 1,000 soldiers, will spend four Quarters of wheat a day; and for the whole year 1,460 Quarters. Although, by order, this number will serve, yet Provision to be at the least in wheat for bread 2,000 Quarters for the provision.

I account that good wheat may be bought, with ready money, by former bargains [*contracts*] for seven years together, for 13s. 4d. the Quarter in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire. To account the charges of a Quarter, from the place where it was bought to Berwick, at 3s. 4d.: that is to say, where they send it down in keels [*barges*] to give for keeling [*barging*] of a Quarter 4d.; for freight of a Quarter to Berwick, 16d.; and for the Purveyor's charges for mats, or any other outlay of a Quarter 20d.

And in other meet places, where the freight is greater; the other charges are the less; so as [*that*] it may be done for the price.

I have made no mention of waste, which is to be borne by the over measure: being bought for ready money, by former bargains; except shipwreck and casualty of the enemy.

So I account wheat to be delivered at Berwick, clear of all charges and freight, at 16s. 8d. the Quarter, one time with another, as before.

And where the baker alloweth to deliver in bread for every quarter of good wheat, 20s. clear of all charges and waste, after the delivery thereof at Berwick: by this order of provision, the waste, freight, and all other charges allowed, except casualty of the enemy and shipwreck; there remaineth profit in every Quarter, 3s. 4d.

SUM ... ...£243 6s. 8d.

These may suffice for the order of the bakehouse for bread, and provision of corn for the same: saving there is to be considered to have in store, at all times, in wood 200 load, every three months to be renewed; to every mill, a pair of spare stones; and timber for reparation. All implements and necessaries to be double furnished for the said charge; and for the horses and carts of the same.

Certain notes for Wheat Meal and Bread.

BUSHEL of good Wheat Meal, as it cometh from the mill, and weighing 56 lbs., will make in Household Bread 72 lbs.; so that it will take in liquor (beside that which is dried in [the] baking), being weighed within twenty-four hours after the baking, 16 lbs.: that is, for 7 lbs. of Meal, 9 lbs. of Bread.

Take 7 lbs. of bran out of a bushel of good Meal, weighing 56 lbs., and the 49 lbs. remaining will make in good Wheaten Bread 63 lbs.; and that paste will make in Ordinary Biscuit, being converted to that use, 42 lbs. And taking $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. more of bran from the said Meal; the $45\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. remaining will make in White Bread 42 lbs., or in White Biscuits 28 lbs.

A bushel of wheat, weighing but 52 lbs. to the mill; if you will make it equal with good Meal, take out of the same 10 lbs. of bran; and the 42 lbs. remaining will make in Wheaten Bread 54 lbs., or in Ordinary Biscuit 36 lbs.; that is, of a Quarter of such wheat 202 lbs. [!] (8 lbs. taken out of the same for grinding), and it will make but $200\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. [!] Ordinary Biscuit; except you take out less bran, and make coarser bread than the ordinary use of the same.

The lighter wheat, the coarser, and more bran; and there is worse wheat than here is mentioned: the heavier wheat, the finer meal and less bran: and there is better also than is here declared.

Some wheat will weigh more than the above weight in a Quarter, 14 lbs., and some 28 lbs. So of light wheat the baker maketh coarse bread, and to small profit; and of good weighty wheat, fair bread, to the baker's honesty and profit.

Because diversity of measures should be avoided, there is considered for waste in provision[ing], the over measure: and for waste in the graynars, the mills to be a parcel of

the bakehouse, so that the baker to answer that waste as before.

Thus much is declared for wheat, and the bakers in their charge.

The order for the Brewhouse.

HE BREWER delivering Double Beer at thirty shillings the tun, the soldier to have a Wine Quart for a halfpenny: and delivering Strong Beer at forty-eight shillings the tun, the soldier to have a Wine Quart for three farthings. And the brewers to allow the Officers for every Quarter of malt 13s. 4d., and for every Quarter of wheat 20s. Clear of all charges and waste in the garners [*granaries*] after the delivery of the same at Berwick from aboard the ships, except casualty of the enemy.

Necessaries and implements, wood and coal, wages of clerks, brewers, millers, coopers, carters, and labourers for the brewhouse, the appurtenances and carriage of provision with horses and carts for the same, hops and beercorn, caske and hoops, or any other necessaries, are to be found by this rate and price of beer, without any other allowance: saving waste and charges of as much malt, wheat, beercorn, or caske, as shall be otherwise employed than with beer; to be delivered by those which were charged with the receipt and carriage from the ships, and keeping the garners of the same.

The brewhouses, horse mills, garners, and storehouses for this charge, being furnished with implements and necessaries, and in good order of reparation at the entrance into service; are so to be maintained and kept in and by all things, except casualty of the enemy: and to be delivered at the departure from service in as good order and furniture of all things, as they were received, without any other allowance than [16*d. the tun, see p.* 214.] for carriage of beer to the Petty Victuallers, as hath been, and is at Berwick accustomed.

If there should be demanded any greater price for malt, then must the beer be smaller [*weaker*], and the water, the brewer's friend for gain, to maintain his charge.

And for that I have considered the great charges of the appurtenances before declared, I have rated both kinds of

beer by the tun in proportion; and how allowance is found for the maintenance of the same.

Double Beer, in proportion by the Tun.

	£	s.	d.
TO EVERY tun in malt, 10 bushels; and half a bushel allowance for waste in the garners; at 13s. 4d. the Quarter	0	17	6
In wheat, 1 bushel	0	2	6
In oats, half a bushel	0	0	5
In hops, 7 lbs., at 20s. a hundred[weight]	0	1	3
Wood and coals, to every tun	0	1	8
Reparation of the houses; implements, necessaries, and waste of caske	0	2	2
Maintenance of men for the said charge, allowed of [*on*] every tun	0	3	4
Maintenance of horses to the mills, and carts for carriage of provision	0	1	2
So have ye the Tun of Double Beer at	£1	10	0

Strong Beer, in proportion by the Tun.

	£	s.	d.
TO EVERY tun in malt, two quarters; and three pecks allowance for waste in the garners;	1	8	0
In wheat, two bushels	0	5	0
In oats, one bushel	0	0	10
In hops, 7½ lbs	0	1	6
Wood and coal, to every ton	0	2	6
Reparations of the houses, implements, necessaries, and waste of casks	0	3	4
Maintenance of men for the said charge, allowed of every tun	0	5	0
Maintenance of horses to the mills, and carts for carriage of provision	0	1	10
So ye have the Tun of Strong Beer, as appeareth at	£2	8	0

The proportion for 600 common soldiers a year in Double Beer, after the order of this book, 456 tuns, in hogsheads.

The proportion for 400 of greater allowance a year in Strong Beer, after the order of this book, 304 tuns, in barrels. SUMMA, 760 tuns, in hogsheads and barrels.

	£	s.	d.
By these proportions of Beer, there is considered for wood and coal	76	0	10
Reparation of the appurtenances, and the waste of the caske	100	2	4½
For maintenance of two clerks, four brewers, one miller, two coopers, and four labourers... ...	152	1	8
Maintenance of horses to the mills, and carts for carriage of provision; besides the Yeast and Grains...	54	9	7½
So have ye for maintenance of the said charge found in the Rate and Price of Beer	382	14	6
And more by the Petty Victuallers, for carriage of beer, 16d. the tun; used of custom	50	13	10
SUMMA for maintenance of the brewhouses and the appurtenances, as appeareth	£433	8	4

And there appeareth also by the said Proportions, wheat, store of corn and hops, will serve the same, as followeth.

In Malt for Double Beer, at ten bushels to the tun, 570 Quarters 2½ bushels. Allowance for waste, 28½ Quarters.

In Malt for Strong Beer, at two Quarters to the tun, 608 qrs. 2½ bushels. Allowance for waste, 30 qrs. 3 bushels.

SUMMA in malt, 1,237½ quarters.

In Wheat to both proportions, as appeareth, 133 Quarters and half a bushel.

In Oats, 66 Quarters 4 bushels.

In Hops, 5,472 lbs.; besides the weight of the hop sacks.

And notwithstanding this Proportion of malt, wheat, and hops will serve the like garrison: yet, considering the place, the Provision to be yearly in malt 2,000 Quarters, in wheat for beer, 250 Quarters, in oats, 150 Quarters; and in good hops 8,000 lbs. in weight.

In Coal[s], as a continual store, every three months to be renewed ... ... 200 chaldron.

Spare stones to the horse mills.
Double furniture of necessaries for the brewhouses, horse mills, and garners.
Double furniture of necessaries for the horses and carts.
To have in store of good caske, serviceable for beer, besides that which is daily occupied ... ... 100 tun.
In good clapboard... ... ... two great hundred [? 240]
In wainscots 200
In spruce deals 200
In seasoned tun-staves 200
In hoops, as a continual store to be renewed, 30,000 or 40,000.
In good iron ... ... four tons.

Although some of these are of small value, yet are they not to be spared, nor easily to be had in time of service; and therefore to be considered.

All such provision, with Brewhouse, Bakehouse, and Graneries, I have seen in the palace at Berwick, the fifth year of King EDWARD VI. [1551]. I then having the charge of 200 Pioneers, in the fortifications there *See Vol. III. p. 76.*]

For Provision.

COUNT good malt may be bought in Cambridgeshire, and such parts of Norfolk where the malt is very good, and in Lincolnshire; for seven years together, by former bargains, for ready money, at 6s. 8d. the Quarter.

As for wheat for this charge, [it] is to be had in all places; and oats also. Coarse wheat will serve for beer, so that the best be reserved for bread. And wheat that hath taken heat in the carriage, not being wet with salt water, will serve for this charge to be occupied [*employed*] with other that is good.

I rate the charges of provision, freight, waste, and all others, except casualty of the enemy, at 3s. 4d. the Quarter, as before in the charge of the Bakehouse: so that malt may be delivered at Berwick, clear of all charges, one time with another, at 10s. the Quarter.

There appeareth to be allowed by the brewer for every Quarter of malt, 13s. 4d.; and for every Quarter of wheat 20s., clear of all charges and waste, after the delivery thereof from

aboard the ships at Berwick, except casualty of the enemy, being employed for beer, delivered in service.

And by the order of provision, the freight, waste, and all other charges cleared, to be profit in every Quarter of malt and wheat employed as before, except casualty of the enemy and shipwreck, 3s. 4d. ... ... SUM ... £228 8s. 4d.

As I have declared great difference in the goodness of wheat, so is there in malt much more. For the common malt of Norfolk is not to be compared to good malt, by four Quarters in every twenty Quarters. And malt that is full of weevils, and wood-dried malt will make unsavoury drink to those that are used to drink beer or ale made with straw dried malt. Yet in time of great service [*exigency*] both Norfolk malt and wood-dried malt will serve with other good malt; and make good drink also to serve the time.

Thus for causes of service of Bread and Beer, I have sufficiently proved, in these few lines declared, and the charges of the same in all points considered. Adding thereunto, a Proportion for the rest of the victualling of such a Garrison.

Provision of Beef, by proportion.

THAT is to say, the whole Garrison, by this order, will spend in beef 12 cwt. a day for 100 days= 300 oxen containing 4 cwt. every ox.

And for the said service there, they may be bought in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, the Bishopric of Durham, and delivered at Berwick alive, clear of all charges, for £3 every ox, those that are good, fat, and so large that the carcases do weigh every quarter round, 15 stone, at 8 lbs. to the stone [120 *lbs.*], the one with the other.

Whereof to be allowed for the hide, offal, and tallow, 15s; and so of all other oxen, after the rate the fourth part the same did cost alive, either of small or great; having license to transport the hides over sea, to be sold to most advantage.

And rating allowance for looking to the pastures, for killing, dressing, and cutting out of every such ox, 23d. yet remaineth profit in the ox by this order, 6s. 8d. a piece.

SUM for the whole proportion ... ... £100.

Provision of Mutton, by proportion.

IN MUTTON also, for fifty days, 12 cwt. a day, rating the carcase of a sheep about 45 lbs., the one with the other; that is 30 sheep a day, in all 1,500 sheep.

Such sheep, being fat and good, are to be bought in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire; and delivered at Berwick alive for 6s. 8d. a sheep; clear of all charges.

Whereof to be allowed 20d. for the skin, offal, and tallow: having licence to transport the fells [*skins*], to be sold, as before, to most advantage. And rating allowance for looking to the pastures, killing and dressing of every such sheep, 4d.; and yet remaineth profit in every of the like sheep 16d.

SUM for the whole proportion £100

Provision of Pork, by proportion.

IN PORK also, for thirty-two days, 15 cwt. a day, the which I rate at 15 hogs, and in all 480 hogs: whereof the two sides of every hog to weigh, besides the offal, 1 cwt.

Such hogs are to be bought in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire, and delivered at Berwick alive, being good, clean, and fat, for 8s. 4d. a hog; clear of all charges.

Whereof to be allowed for the offal of every such hog, 12d. And rating allowance for looking to them, killing, scalding, and dressing of every hog, 8d., and yet remaineth profit in every such hog, 2s.

SUM for the whole proportion... ... ... £48

Notwithstanding this Proportion, yet the store of oxen to be 400; with 2,000 sheep; and 800 hogs, whereof 300 to be made into bacon, as parcel of a good store. And always to have at Berwick 100 oxen and 500 sheep; and the rest in good pasture within thirty or forty miles, ready to serve at all times: and the hogs also in convenient place for the same.

Provision of Fish, by proportion.

N STOCK FISH for 52 Wednesdays, two meals, and half service; for 52 Fridays, one meal, and whole service: 300 stockfishes a day. In all the whole, 26 lasts, 1,200, after five score the hundred to every last.

The same are to be delivered at Berwick, clear of all charges, for £13 6s. 8d. the last. And rating allowance for beating, and keeping the store of every last, 30s.; and yet remaineth profit in every last (by order of this book), as in a Proportion for the Twentieth part of the Garrison hereafter following may appear [*see p.* 223], £5 3s. 4d.

SUM for the whole Proportion... ... ... £133 3s. 4d.

In Shetland Ling, every ling to be rated at two stockfishes; for 26 Saturdays, thirteen days in Lent, and one day in Rogation week, half service, forty days; 150 a day, which maketh, after six score to the hundred, and 4 lings to the pay, 5,000 ling: which are to be delivered at Berwick, clear of all charges, for 50s. the 100; and rating allowance to the keepers of the store, of every 100, three shillings and four pence; and yet remains profit of every 100 (by order of this book), as in the Soldiers' Proportion at large appeareth, 16s. 8d.

SUM for the whole Proportion ... ... £41 13s. 4d.

In Shetland Cod, rated at a stockfish and a half, for 26 Saturdays, 12 days in Lent, and one day in Rogation week, half service, 39 days, 225 fishes a day; which maketh, after six score to the hundred: and 4 pay fishes, 7,315 fishes: which are to be delivered at Berwick, clear of all charges, for 30s. the hundred. And rating allowance to the keepers of the store, of every hundred, two shillings; and yet remaineth profit in every hundred, by this order, 8s.

SUM for the whole Proportion ... ... £29 4s. 1½d.

And where these Porportions of fish (by the order of this book), allowed to the soldiers, will serve: yet the yearly provision, with the remainder to be, in Stock Fish, 40 last; 7,500 Ling, and 10,000 Cod.

Provision of Butter and Cheese.

N BUTTER, for 52 Wednesdays, half service, 300 lbs. a day; 52 Saturdays, 25 days in Lent, and two days in Rogation week, quarter service, 79 days, 150 lbs. a day, in all 27,350 lbs.; which maketh in barrels, after 52½ lbs. to every firkin, 130 barrels.

The same may be bought in Holderness, in Yorkshire and in Suffolk, once a year, for 40s. the barrel [=*about* 2¼d. *a lb.*]: and rating the charges of provision and carriage to the water at 20d. the barrel; for freight to Berwick, every barrel 20d.; and rating allowance to the keepers of the store of every barrel 20d.: and yet remaineth profit of every barrel, 25s.

SUM for the whole proportion ... ... £162 16s. 3d.

In Cheese, for 52 Saturdays, 25 days in Lent, and two days in Rogation week, quarter service, 300 lbs. a day; in all 23,700 lbs. and maketh in weys, considering the allowance of 16 lbs. [*in the Suffolk Wey of* 256 *lbs.*] to the Petty Victuallers for the soldiers, 98¾ weys: and rating allowance for waste, one wey in every load, that is for waste, 15 wey and two odd quarters and to go in allowance of waste with the rest, which I am sure is sufficient: so that the provision to be by this order 113 weys of cheese, with the waste.

The same may be bought in Suffolk, once a year, for 20s. the wey [=*about 2d. a lb.*], and rating the provision and carriage to the waterside of a wey 20d., for freight to Berwick of a wey 20d., and yet remains profit of this order of a wey (allowing other 20d. to the keepers of the store) 9s. 7¼d.

And in the whole... ... ... £54 5s.

Notwithstanding that the said Proportion of Butter and Cheese will serve, according to the order of this book: yet the yearly provision to be with the remains, in butter 200 barrels, and in cheese 200 weys. And to have in store of bay salt, upon consideration of service, if it should so happen to occupy the same, 100 weys.

By this General Proportion of provision, appeareth to be maintained sufficient number of men, and also the reparation of the houses, necessaries, and all other charges for the said service at Berwick, without the Queen's Highness's charge, and also for the provision and charges of freight and other [matters] before it come to Berwick.

And to stop the mouths of those who delight to find fault in that they understand not; here followeth how the allowance is found to maintain the same. That is to say:—

	£	s.	d.
For reparation of the bakehouses, brewhouses, windmills, horse mills, garners; with the appurtenances, and waste of caske in the said charge, by this proportion	150	2	4
Wood and coal to bake and brew the said proportion	174	7	6
For horses and carts for the mills and carrying of provision, with the allowance by the Petty Victuallers, for carrying of their beer, as is accustomed	172	16	9
For maintenance of twenty-five men for the bakehouses, brewhouses, windmills, horse mills, garners, and carrying of provisions in the said charge	302	1	8
For maintenance of men in charge of the beef, mutton, and pork...	69	16	0
[Do.] in the charge of stockfish, ling, and cod ...	54	12	11
[Do.] in charge of butter and cheese, as appeareth	20	5	0
SUM	£943	9	0

All these are found, beside the provision and freight before it come to Berwick, as by the same may appear.

And the better to maintain the Chief Officer of trust, the charges before rehearsed and other unknown charges, which happeneth oftentimes in service: as also that all his said ministers and servants be not any of the number allowed for soldiers: there is considered for profit:—

	£	s.	d.
In wheat for bread, as in the charge of the bakehouse appeareth	243	6	8
In malt and wheat for beer, as in the charge of the brewhouse appeareth	228	8	4
In beef, mutton, and pork	248	0	0
In stockfish, ling, and cod	204	4	1
In butter and cheese	217	1	3
SUM	£1,141	0	4

All these allowances are found, besides maintenance of the Petty Victuallers and their charge, as appeareth by Proportion hereafter following. And for the sum of £8,342 10s. the Officer's fee and the Soldiers' scores paid every six months, this service is to be done in every point of the same.

THE GARRISON, being one thousand soldiers, as aforesaid, whereof account six hundred common soldiers and four hundred more of greater pay, or such as make more account of themselves: and for [*in order*] that the soldiers shall not be troubled with dressing of their victuals; neither the Captain in delivering the Proportion appointed within the town of garrison: I do appoint twenty Petty Victuallers; and to every Petty Victualler, thirty common soldiers and twenty more of bigger pay, whose Proportion of victuals for a year shall hereafter appear.

The common soldier shall pay 2s. 8d. by the week, for his diet, lodging and washing; the soldier of bigger pay, at 4s. the week for his diet, lodging and washing, as hereafter followeth: wherein it doth also appear how the Petty Victuallers are considered for their charges and travail in the same, for a year of 365 days.

[Of 2s. 8d., each Common Soldier paid about 3½d. a day or 2s. a week for food; with 8d. a week for lodging and washing.

Similarly, of 4s., each Superior Soldier paid about 5¾d. a day, or 3s. 4d. a week for food; with 8d. a week for lodging and washing.]

The 30 common soldiers, to have every man a day, in wheaten bread, one pound and a half, rated at a penny: and the 20 of greater allowance, in white bread, every man a day one pound and a half, rated at three half-pence. And in in allowance to the Petty Victuallers, twenty-one loaves for twenty. These 50 soldiers' charge ... ... SUMMA...£91 5s.

The Petty Victuallers' Allowance found in the same, in vantage bread ... ... SUM...£4 11s. 3d.

The thirty common soldiers, to every man a Wine Pottle [*half a gallon=Three ordinary modern wine bottles*] of Double

Beer a day, rated at a penny. Their Proportion for a year, 22 tuns, 3 hogsh., 15 galls., delivered to the Petty Victuallers at 30s. the tun.

The twenty of greater allowance, every man a Wine Pottle of Strong Beer a day, rated at 1½d. Their Proportion for a year, 15 tuns, 1 barrel, 10 gallons; delivered to the Petty Victuallers at 48s. the tun.

These 50 soldiers' charge ... ... £91 5s.
The Petty Victuallers' sum ... ... £20 10s. 1½d.

The thirty common soldiers, in Beef, every man one pound a day, rated at 1½d. For 100 days, 3,000 lbs.; and the Petty Victuallers' allowance of every 100, twelve pounds. So is the proportion 3,000 lbs. in weight, at 12s. 6d. the hundred, in charge ... ... SUMMA...£18 15s.

The twenty [of] greater allowance, every man 1½ lbs. a day, rated as before, with like allowance. To the Petty Victuallers the proportion is 30 cwt., at 12s. 6d. the hundred.

SUMMA ... ... £18 15s.
The Petty Victuallers' Allowance in both... £4 0s. 4d.

The thirty common soldiers, in Mutton, every man one pound a day, rated at two pence the lb. For 50 days, 1500 lbs. in weight; and the Petty Victuallers' allowance, of every hundredweight, twelve pounds. So is the Proportion 15 cwt., at 16s. 8d. the hundred in charge. SUMMA ...£12 10s.

The twenty of greater allowance, every man 1½ lbs. a day, rated as before, with like allowance to the Petty Victuallers. The Proportion is 1500 at 16s. 8d. the hundred in charge.

SUM ... ... £12 10s.
The Petty Victuallers' Allowance in both ... £2 13s. 8d.

The thirty common soldiers in Pork, every man 1¼ lbs. a day, rated at 1½d. For 32 days, 1200; and the Petty Victuallers, of every hundred, 12 lbs. The Proportion is 1200 weight, at 10s. the hundred. ... ... SUMMA...£6

The twenty [of] greater allowance, every man 1⅞ lbs. a day, rated as before after the rate, with the like Allowance to the Petty Victuallers. The proportion is 12 hundredweight, at 10s. the hundred in charge. ... ...SUM...£6

The Petty Victuallers' Allowance... ... ... £1 5s. 9d.

The thirty common soldiers in Stock Fish, to every four men one stockfish a day for 52 Wednesdays, two meals a day, half service; and the like allowance to every four men of one stockfish for a meal for 52 Fridays, whole service: in all $7\frac{1}{2}$ fishes a day, 104 days = 780 fishes, rated at 4d. the fish in charge. ... ...SUM...£13

The twenty of greater allowance to have, for the like days, to every four men one stockfish and a half a day; as well for the half as the whole service, every day $7\frac{1}{2}$ fishes = 780 fishes at 4d. the fish in charge. ... ... SUMMA...£13

The thirty common soldiers to have in Shetland Ling for 26 Saturdays, 13 days in Lent, and 1 day in Rogation week; in all forty days: to every eight men, one ling a day, half service; rated at 7d. the ling. SUM. 150: and the Allowance for pay fish to the Petty Victuallers of 5 ling.

SUM ... ... £4 7s. 6d.

The twenty of greater allowance for the like days, to every eight men, one ling and a half, rated as before, at 7d. the ling = 150, and to the Petty Victuallers, 5 ling. [SUM] £4 7s. 6d.

The Petty Victuallers' Allowance ... ... 5s. 10d.

The 30 common soldiers to have in Shetland Cod for 26 Saturdays, 12 days in Lent, and one day in Rogation week, to every eight men, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fish a day, half service, at 4d. the fish: and the Petty Victuallers in Allowance, as before in ling. The proportion $219\frac{3}{8}$ fishes. The Petty Victuallers' Allowance $7\frac{1}{4}$ fishes in charge for the same. ... SUMMA...£3 13s. $1\frac{1}{2}$d.

The twenty of greater allowance for the like days, to every eight men $2\frac{1}{4}$ fishes a day, for half service, with like allowance to the Petty Victuallers, as before at 4d. the fish. The proportion is $219\frac{3}{8}$ fishes. The Petty Victuallers' allowance $7\frac{1}{4}$ fishes, in charge for the same.

SUM ... ... £3 13s. $1\frac{1}{2}$d.

The Petty Victuallers' allowance ... ... 4s. 10d.

The thirty common soldiers to have in Butter, to every four men one pound a day, half service, for 52 Wednesdays, two meals a day; and to every eight men one pound a day, quarter service for 52 Saturdays, 25 days in Lent, and two days in Rogation week at 4d. the lb. = $686\frac{1}{4}$ lbs., and is in charge. ... ... SUMMA...£11 8s. 9d.

The twenty of greater allowance, for the like 52 Wednesdays, half service, to every four men 1½ lbs. a day; and to every eight men 1½ lbs. a day for 52 Saturdays, 25 days in Lent, and two days in Rogation week, quarter service: at 4d. the lb. = 686¼ lbs., and is in charge.

SUMMA ... ...£11 8s. 9d.

The thirty common soldiers, in Cheese, for 52 Saturdays, 25 days in Lent, and 2 days in Rogation week, to every four men one pound a day, quarter service; and allowance to the Petty Victuallers, 16 lbs. of a Wey, at 2d. the lb. SUM 592½ lbs. in charge. ... ... SUMMA...£4 18s. 9d.

The Petty Victuallers' allowance, 39½ lbs.

The twenty of greater allowance, for the like Saturdays, the like days in Lent and Rogation week; to every four men 1½ lbs. a day, quarter service: SUM 592½ lbs. at 2d. the lb., in charge. ... ... SUM...£4 18s. 9d.

The Petty Victuallers' allowance 39½ lbs.

In money for both the parcels ... ... 13s. 2d.

SUM... ... ... £417 2s. 6d.

Every Petty Victuallers' allowance, that men may be well ordered. ... ... SUM...£119 11s. 3d.

The whole Garrison, at twenty Petty Victuallers a year in charge ... ...£8,342 10s.

The twenty Petty Victuallers' Allowance, besides that in the General Proportion found out of the same, SUM, £2,391 6s. 8d.

Some soldiers there are who are married and keep house; whose Proportion of victuals must be to them delivered accordingly; with the like Allowance as to the Petty Victuallers, in every thing.

To Captains and Gentlemen, with their ordinary servants, keeping house of themselves, no Proportion is delivered but with like Allowance.

FINIS.

The Privy Council.

A brief note of the benefits that grow to this Realm, by the observation of Fish Days: with a reason and cause wherefore the law in that behalf made, is ordained.

Very necessary to be placed in the houses of all men, especially common Victuallers.

WHERE heretofore, by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, of her clemency and care conceived, for divers private benefits that might grow to her loving subjects, specially for the better maintenance of the Navy of this land; hath with the consent of the whole state of her realm, caused to be made and published sundry statute laws and proclamations for the expense [*consumption*] of fish and observation of Fish Days, with great penalties to be laid on the offenders; that by the certain observation thereof, fishermen, the chiefest nurse for mariners, might the more be increased and maintained.

The common sort of people contemning this Observation, to avoid the ceremony in times past therein used, and not certainly knowing the benefits thereby growing to the realm, nor remembering the penalties by the same laws appointed: do not only fall into the danger of the said laws: but the same hath caused a great decay to fishing; whereby groweth many other great detriments to the commonwealth of this realm. For the better instruction therefore of such persons as for the benefit of their country will be persuaded; in this brief Table

is set down the punishment appointed for the offenders, the discommodities that happen to the realm by the said contempt, and the great benefit that might grow to the people by the observation hereof; with the opinion that ought to be conceived in the eating of fish at the days and times prescribed: being briefly set down as hereafter followeth.

The Branches of the Statute.

IN the fifth year of Her Majesty's most gracious reign, it was ordained that it should not be lawful for any person within this realm to eat any flesh upon any days then usually observed as Fish Days; upon pain to forfeit £3 [= £30 *of present money*] for every time he offended, or suffer three months of imprisonment without bail or mainprize.

And every person within whose house any such offence shall be done, being privy and knowing thereof and not effectually punishing or disclosing the same to some public officer having authority to punish the same; to forfeit for every such offence forty shillings.

The said penalty being great, and many of the poor estate favoured by reason thereof; but the offence thought necessary not to be left unpunished: the Queen's Majesty, of her great clemency, in the Parliament holden in the 34th year of her most gracious reign, hath caused the forfeiture for the eater to be but twenty shillings; and for him in whose house it is eaten, but 13s. 4d.—which being executed, will prove very damageable to the offenders.

In the 27th year of Her Highness's reign, it was further ordained and remaineth still in force; that no innholder, vintner, alehouse-keeper, common victualler, common cook, or common table-keeper shall utter or put to sale upon any Friday, Saturday or other days appointed to be Fish Days, or any day in time of Lent, any kind of flesh victuals; upon pain of forfeiture of £5; and shall suffer ten days' imprisonment without bail, mainprize, or remove, for every time so offending.

The Cause and Reason.

FIRST forasmuch as our country is for the most part, compassed with the seas; and the greatest force for defence thereof, under GOD, is the Queen Majesty's Navy of ships: for maintenance and increase of the said Navy, this law for abstinence hath been most carefully ordained, that by the *certain* expense [*consumption*] of fish, fishing and fishermen might be the more increased and the better maintained; for that the said trade is the chiefest nurse not only for the bringing up of youth for shipping; but great numbers of ships therein are used, furnished with sufficient mariners, men at all times in a readiness for Her Majesty's service in those affairs.

The second cause is, for that many towns and villages upon the sea coasts are, of late years, wonderfully decayed, and some wonderfully depopulated; which in times past, were replenished not only with fishermen and great store of shipping, but sundry other artificers, as shipwrights, smiths, rope-makers, net-makers, sail-makers, weavers, dressers, carriers, and utterers of fish, maintained chiefly by fishing: that they hereby again might be renewed, the want whereof is and hath been the cause of great numbers of idle persons, with whom the realm is greatly damaged; and this happeneth by reason of the uncertainty of the sale of fish and the contempt which in the eating of fish is conceived.

Furthermore, it is considered that the trade for grazing of cattle through the unlawful expense of flesh, is so much increased; that many farmhouses and villages wherein were maintained great numbers of people, and by them the markets plentifully served with corn and other victuals: are now utterly decayed and put down: for the feeding or grassing [*grazing*] of beefs [*oxen*] and muttons [*sheep*] only. By means whereof the people which in such places were maintained, are not only made vagrant; but also calves, hogs, pigs, geese, hens, chickens, capons, eggs, butter, cheese, and such like things, do become exceedingly scarce and dear; by want of

their increase in those places, so that the markets are not, nor cannot be served, as in times past it hath been done.

Many other things for confirmation hereof might be spoken, as the great number of ships decayed which have been maintained by fishing; the wealth and commodity that fishing bringeth to this realm; the cause that certain days and times for expense of fish must of necessity be observed, grown by reason of the provision of flesh for the people's diet must be certainly provided: whereof the gentle reader shall be more at large instructed in a little book published to that effect, with sundry other arguments which for brevity are omitted. In hope the consideration hereof will be sufficient to persuade such persons as esteem more the benefit of their country than their own lust or appetite; setting before their eyes the fear of GOD in obedience to the Prince's commandment: especially in such things as concern the benefit of a commonwealth, considering Saint PAUL saith, "There is no power but of GOD. The powers," saith he, "that be, are ordained of GOD: and those that resist these powers, resist the ordinance of GOD."

It is further to be considered that there is no conscience to be made in the kind or nature of the meat being flesh or fish, as in times past a feigned ceremony therein was used; neither is the meat concerning itself unlawful to be eaten at any time: but the use thereof is unlawful, being forbidden to eat by the Prince having power and authority from GOD, and done by the consent of the whole estate for a commonwealth; wherein obedience ought to be showed, not for fear of punishment only, as Saint PAUL saith, but for conscience' sake, not esteeming the meat or the day but obedience to the law and benefit to our country and poor brethren. Remembering that the magistrate beareth not the sword for nought, but to take vengeance upon them that do evil. For Saint PAUL saith further, "He that will live without fear of punishment must do well, and so shall he have praise for the same."

And although fear of punishment will not reform such persons, as by affection conceived hath been addicted from the expense of fish and the observation of fish days: yet the foresaid things considered, let obedience to their Prince and benefit to their country persuade them to bridle their

affectioned lust for a small time; so shall they both see and feel the great benefits thereby growing, and escape the punishment for the offence appointed.

And for that the commodities may in some part more plainly appear, hereafter followeth an estimate of the beefs [*oxen*] that were killed and uttered in the City of London and its suburbs for a year; and what number of them might be spared in the said year, by one day's abstinence [from flesh] in a week: by which also may be conjectured, what may be spared in the whole realm.

An estimate of what beefs [oxen] *might be spared in a year, in the City of London, by one day's abstinence* [*from flesh*] *in a week.*

FIRST. In the year are 52 weeks, for every week, seven days: in all, 365. The Lent, with Friday and Saturday in every week, and the other accustomed Fish Days, being collected together, extend to 153. So in the year there are 153 fish days and 211 flesh days, that is 58 flesh days more than fish days.

So the year, being 52 weeks; abate 7 for the time of Lent, wherein no beefs [*oxen*] ought to be killed: and there remaineth but 45 weeks.

Then let us say there be threescore Butchers, that be freemen within the City; and every Butcher to kill weekly, the one with the other, five beefs [*oxen*] apiece: the same amounteth to 13,500 beefs.

The foreigners in the suburbs, and such as come out of the country to serve the markets in the City; as it is credibly affirmed, kill and utter [*sell*] in the City weekly, four times so many as the freemen: which amounteth to 54,000.

So joining the beefs uttered by the freemen and foreigners &c. together; they extend to 67,500.

If we will now know what number of beefs might be spared in a year, by one day's abstinence in a week: let us say that in the week are five days accustomably served with flesh—for that Friday and Saturday by the law are days of abstinence—whereof one being taken away, the rest are but four. In like case, divide the said 67,500 into five parts; and the fifth part spared by the fifth day's abstinence is 13,500.

By this it is not meant that any more fish days should be ordained than there already are; but that Friday and Saturday might in better sort be observed: for that flesh victuals on those days, in most places, are as commonly spent as on flesh days; and therefore may well be accounted for the expense of one flesh day. The due observation whereof would spare the number of beefs aforesaid or more; besides those things sold by the Poulterers; and other small cattle, as calves, sheep and lambs innumerable, killed by the Butcher.

Seen and allowed by the most Honourable Privy Council in the year of our Lord GOD 1593 [*i.e.* 1594]. The 20th of March.

AT LONDON.

Printed for HENRY GOSSON and FRANCIS COULES.

Kemp's nine days' wonder.

Performed in a dance from London to Norwich.

Containing the Pleasure, Pains, and kind Entertainment of WILLIAM KEMP, between London and that city, in his late Morrice.

Wherein is somewhat set down worth note, to reprove the slanders spread of him; many things merry, nothing hurtful.

Written by himself, to satisfy his friends.

LONDON:

Printed by E. A. for NICHOLAS LING, and are to be sold at his shop, at the West Door of Saint Paul's Church. 1600.

To the true ennobled Lady, and his most bountiful Mistress, Mistress ANNE FITTON, Maid of Honour to the most sacred Maid Royal, Queen ELIZABETH.

HONOURABLE MISTRESS,

IN THE wane of my little wit, I am forced to desire your protection; else every ballad singer will proclaim me bankrupt of honesty! A sort of mad fellows, seeing me merrily disposed in a Morrice, have so bepainted me in print, since my gambols began from London to Norwich, that (having but an ill face before) I shall appear to the world without a face, if your fair hand wipe not away their foul colours.

One hath written *Kemp's farewell*, to the tune of *Kery, mery, buffe*; another, his *desperate dangers in his late travail*; the third, his *entertainment to Newmarket*, which town I came never near, by the length of half the heath. Some swear in a *trenchmore*, I have trod a good way to win the world; others that guess righter, affirm, "I have without good help, danced myself out of the world!" Many say many things that were never thought.

But, in a word, your poor Servant offers the truth of his Progress and profit, to your honourable view! receive it, I beseech you! such as it is, rude and plain: for I know your

pure judgement looks as soon to see beauty in a blackamoor, or hear smooth speech from a stammerer, as to find anything but blunt mirth in a Morrice dancer! especially such a one as WILL. KEMP, that hath spent his life in mad jigs and merry jests.

Three reasons move me to make public this journey. One, to reprove lying fools I never knew. The other, to commend loving friends, which, by the way, I daily found. The third, to show my duty to your honourable self. Whose favours, among other bountiful friends, make me, despite of this sad world, judge my heart Cork, and my heels Feathers: so that, methinks, I could fly to Rome (at least, *hop to Rome*, as the old proverb is) with a mortar on my head.

In which light conceit, I lowly beg pardon and leave: for my tabourer strikes his *Hunt's up!* I must to Norwich!

Imagine, noble Mistress! I am now setting from my Lord Mayor's! the hour, about seven! the morning, gloomy! the company, many! my heart, merry!

Your worthy Ladyship's

Most unworthy servant,

WILLIAM KEMP.

Kemp's nine days' wonder.

Performed in a Morrice from London to Norwich.

Wherein every day's journey is pleasantly set down, to satisfy his friends [as to] the truth; against all lying ballad. makers: what he did, how he was welcome, and by whom entertained.

The First Day's journey, being the first Monday in clean Lent; from the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor's, of London.

THE first Monday in Lent [*Feb.* 11, 1600], the close morning promising a clear day; attended on by THOMAS SLYE, my Tabourer; WILLIAM BEE, my servant; and GEORGE SPRAT appointed for my Overseer, that I should take no other ease, but my prescribed order: myself, that's I (otherwise called *Cavaliero* KEMP, Head Master of Morrice dancers, High Headborough of heighs, and only tricker of your Trill-lilles, and best bell-shangles, between Sion and Mount Surrey) began frolicly to foot it, from the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor's, of London, towards the Right Worshipful and truly bountiful Master Mayor's at Norwich.

Sion, near Brainford; and Mount Surrey, near Norwich.

My setting forward was somewhat before seven in the morning, my Tabourer struck up merrily, and as fast as kind people thronging together would give me leave, through London, I leapt!

By the way, many good old people, and divers others of younger years, of mere kindness, give me bowed [*bent*] sixpences and groats; blessing me with their hearty prayers and "God speeds!"

Being past Whitechapel, and having left fair London, with all that north-east suburb before named, multitudes of Londoners left not me! but either to keep a custom that many hold, that "Mile End is no walk, without a recreation at Stratford [at] Bow, with cream and cakes," or else for love they bear towards me, or perhaps to make themselves merry if I should chance, as many thought, to give over my Morrice within a mile of Mile End.

However, many a thousand brought me to Bow; where I rested a while from dancing: but had small rest with those, that would have urged me to drinking. But, I warrant you! WILL. KEMP was wise enough! To their full cups, "kind thanks!" was my return; with gentlemanlike protestations, as "Truly, Sir, I dare not! It stands not with the congruity of my health!"

"Congruity," said I! but how came that strange language in my mouth? I think scarcely that it is any Christian word: and yet it may be a good word, for ought I know; though I never made it, nor do very well understand it! Yet I am sure, I have bought it at the wordmongers, at as dear a rate as I could have had a whole hundred of bavins [*logs*] from the woodmongers.

Farewell "Congruity!" for I mean now to be more concise, and stand upon evener bases! but I must neither stand nor sit, the Tabourer strikes alarum. "Tickle it, good TOM! I'll follow thee! Farewell Bow! Have over the Bridge, where, I heard say, 'Honest Conscience was once drowned.' It is pity if it were so! but that is no matter belonging to our Morrice; let us now along to Stratford Langton!"

Many good fellows being there met, and knowing how well I loved the sport, had prepared a Bear baiting: but so unreasonable were the multitudes of people, that I could only hear the bear roar and the dogs howl.

A great spoon at Ilford, holding above a quart.

Therefore forward I went, with my hey de gaies [*hey-degives*] to Ilford, where I again rested; and was by the people of the town and country thereabouts, very well welcomed: being offered carouses in the great spoon,

one whole draught [of it] being able at that time to have drawn my little wit dry; but being afraid of the old proverb, *He had need of a long spoon that eats with the Devil*, I soberly gave my boon companions the slip.

From Ilford, by moonshine, I set forward, dancing within a quarter of a mile of Romford: where in the highway, two strong jades, having belike some quarrel to me unknown, were beating and biting of each other; and such, through GOD's help, was my good hap that I escaped their hoofs, both being raised with their forefeet above my head, like two smiths over one anvil.

There, being an end of my First Day's Morrice, a kind gentleman of London [a]lighting from his horse, would have no "Nay!" but I should leap into his saddle. To be plain with ye! I was not proud; but took kindly his kindlier offer, chiefly thereto urged by my weariness. So I rode to my inn at Romford.

In that town, to give rest to my well laboured limbs, I continued two days: being much beholden to the townsmen for their love; but more to the Londoners, that came hourly thither in great numbers, to visit me, offering much more kindness than I was willing to accept.

The Second Day's journey, being Thursday of the First week.

THURSDAY [*Feb.* 14, 1600], being market day at Burnt Wood, TOM SLYE was earlier up than the lark, and sounded merrily the Morrice. I roused myself, and returned from Romford to the place where I took horse the first night; dancing that quarter of a mile back again, through Romford, and so merrily to Burnt Wood.

Yet now I remember it well, I had no great cause of mirth! For at Romford town's end, I strained my hip; and, for a time, endured exceeding pain: but being loth to trouble a surgeon, I held on, finding remedy by labour that had hurt me. For it came in a turn; and so, in my dance, I turned it out of my service again.

The multitudes were so great, at my coming to Burnt Wood, that I had much ado (though I made many entreaties and stays) to get passage to my inn.

In this town, two cut-purses [*pickpockets*] were taken, that with other two of their companions followed me from London; as many better disposed people did. But these two dy-doppers gave out, when they were apprehended, that "they had laid wagers, and betted about my journey."

Whereupon the Officers bringing them to my inn, I justly denied their acquaintance; saying that "I remembered one of them to be a noted cut-purse:" such a one as we tie to a post on our Stage, for all people to wonder at; when at a Play, they are taken pilfering.

This fellow and his half-brother being found with the deed, were sent to gaol: their other two consorts had the charity of the town! and, after a dance of *Trenchmore* at the whipping cross, they were sent back to London; where, I am afraid, there are too many of their occupation. To be short, I thought myself well rid of four such followers; and I wish heartily, that the whole world were clear of such companions!

Having rested well at Burnt Wood, the moon shining clearly and the weather being calm, in the evening, I tripped it to Ingerstone; stealing away from those numbers of people that followed me: yet, do what I could, I had above fifty in the company, some of London, the others of the country thereabouts; that would needs, when they heard my taber, trudge after me through thick and thin.

The Third Day's journey, being Friday of the First week.

ON FRIDAY morning [*Feb.* 15, 1600], I set forward towards Chelmsford, not having past two hundred; being the least company that I had in the day time between London and that place.

Onward I went, thus easily followed, till I came to Witford Bridge: where a number of country [*county*] gentlemen and gentlewomen were gathered together to see me. Sir THOMAS MILDMAY standing at his park pale [*palings*], received gently a pair of garters of me: gloves, points, and garters being my ordinary merchandise, that I put to venture for performance of my merry voyage.

So much ado I had to pass by the people at Chelmsford, that it was more than an hour ere I could recover my inn

gate; where I was fain to lock myself in my chamber, and pacify them with words out of a window instead of deeds. To deal plainly, I was so weary that I could dance no more.

The next morning, I footed it three miles of my way towards Braintree: but returned back again to Chelmsford; where I lay that Saturday and the next Sunday.

The good cheer and kind welcome I had at Chelmsford was much more than I was willing to entertain: for my only desire was to refrain from drink, and [to] be temperate in my diet.

At Chelmsford, a maid not passing fourteen years of age, dwelling with one SUDLEY my kind friend, made request to her Master and Dame, that she might dance the Morrice with me, in a great large room. They being intreated, I was soon won to fit her with bells; besides [which], she would have the old fashion, with napkin on [each of] her arms: and to our jumps, we fell!

A whole hour, she held out! but then, being ready to lie down, I left her off: but thus much in her praise, I would have challenged the strongest man in Chelmsford; and amongst many, I think few would have done so much.

The Fourth Day's journey, being Monday of the Second week.

ON MONDAY morning [*Feb.* 18], very early, I rode the three miles I danced the Saturday before; where, alighting, my Tabourer struck up, and lightly I tripped forward: but I had the heaviest way [*road*] that ever mad Morrice dancer trod: yet

With hey and ho! through thick and thin;
The hobby horse quite forgotten,
I followed as I did begin!
Although the way were rotten.

This foul way I could find no ease in, thick woods being on either side the lane; the lane likewise being full of deep holes, sometimes I skipped up to the waist! But it is an old proverb, that *it is a little comfort to the miserable, to have companions*: and amidst this miry way, I had some mirth, by an unlooked for accident.

It was the custom of honest country fellows, my unknown friends, upon hearing of my pipe (which might well be heard, in a still morning or evening, a mile), to get up and bear me company a little way.

In this foul way, two pretty plain youths watched me; and with their kindness somewhat hindered me. One, a fine light fellow, would be still before me; the other, ever at my heels!

At length, coming to a broad plash of water and mud, which could not be avoided; I fetched a rise, yet fell in over the ankles at the further end. My youth that followed me, took his jump, and stuck fast in the midst, crying out to his companion, "Come, GEORGE! call ye this dancing! I'll go no further!" for, indeed, he could go no further, till his fellow was fain to wade and help him out. I could not choose but laugh, to see how, like two frogs, they laboured!

A hearty farewell, I gave them! And they faintly bade "God speed me!" saying if I danced that dirty way, this seven years' again, they would never dance after me!

Well, with much ado, I got unto Braintree, by noon, and tarried there Monday night and the next day; only I danced three miles on Tuesday, to ease my Wednesday's journey.

If I should deny that I was welcome at Braintree, I should slander an honest crew of kind men; among whom, I fared well, slept well, and was every way well used.

The Fifth Day's journey, being Wednesday of the Second week.

TAKING advantage of my three miles that I had danced the day before; this Wednesday morning [*Feb.* 20], I tripped it to Sudbury; whither came to see me, a very kind Gentleman, Master FOSKEW, that had, before, travelled afoot from London to Berwick: who, giving me good counsel to observe temperate diet for my health, and other advice to be careful of my company, besides his liberal entertainment, departed; leaving me much indebted to his love.

In this town of Sudbury, there came a lusty tall fellow, a butcher by his profession, that would, in a Morrice, keep me company to Bury. I being glad of his friendly offer, gave

him thanks: and forward we did set! But ere ever we had measured half a mile of our way, he gave me over in the plain field: protesting that "if he might get a hundred pounds, he would not hold out with me!" For, indeed, my pace in dancing is not ordinary.

As he and I were parting, a lusty country lass being among the people, called him "Faint-hearted lout!" saying, "If I had begun to dance, I would have held out one mile, though it had cost my life!"

At which words, many laughed.

"Nay," saith she, "if the Dancer will lend me a leash of his bells, I'll venture to tread one mile with him, myself!"

I looked upon her, saw mirth in her eyes, heard boldness in her words, and beheld her ready to tuck up her russet petticoat. I fitted her with bells, which she, merrily taking, garnished her thick short legs: and with a smooth brow, bade the Tabourer begin.

The drum struck, forward march I, with my merry Maid MARIAN: who shook her fat sides, and footed it merrily to Melford; being a long mile.

There parting with her, I gave her, besides her skin full of drink, an English crown to buy more drink: for, good wench! she was in a piteous heat!

My kindness she requited with dropping some dozen of short courtsies [*curtsies*], and bidding "GOD bless the Dancer!"

I bad her "Adieu!" and to give her her due, she had a good ear, danced truly: and we parted friendly.

But ere I part with her, a good fellow, my friend, having writ an odd rhyme of her, I will set it down.

A country lass (brown as a berry,
Blithe of blee, in heart as merry;
Cheeks well fed, and sides well larded;
Every bone, with fat flesh guarded)
Meeting merry KEMP by chance,
Was MARIAN in his Morrice dance.
Her stump legs, with bells were garnished;
Her brown brows, with sweating varnished;
Her brown hips, when she was lag,
To win her ground, went swig-a-swag:

Which to see, all that came after
Were replete with mirthful laughter.
Yet she thumped it on her way
With a sportly *hey de gay*!
At a mile, her dance she ended;
Kindly paid, and well commended.

At Melford, divers Gentlemen met me, who brought me to one Master COLTS, a very kind and worshipful Gentleman: where I had unexpected entertainment till the Saturday.

From whose house, having hope somewhat to amend my way to Bury, I determined to go by Clare: but I found it both further and fouler.

The Sixth Day's journey, being Saturday of the Second week.

FROM Wednesday night till Saturday, having been troublesome, but much more welcome to Master COLTS; in the morning [*Feb.* 23], I took my leave, and was accompanied with many Gentlemen, a mile of my way. Which mile, Master COLTS's Fool would needs dance with me, and had his desire; where leaving me, two fools parted fair in a foul way: I keeping on my course to Clare, where I a while rested; and then cheerfully set forward to Bury [St. Edmunds].

Passing from Clare, towards Bury, I was invited to the house of a very bountiful widow, whose husband, during his life, was a yeoman of that country [*county*], dying rich, no doubt! as might well appear by the riches and plenty that abounded in every corner of the house. She is called the Widow EVERET.

At her house were met above thirty Gentlemen. Such, and so plentiful variety of good fare, I have very seldom seen in any Commoner's house. Her behaviour being very modest and friendly, argued her bringing up not to be rude. She was a woman of good presence; and, if a Fool may judge! of no small discretion.

From this widow's, I danced to Bury; coming in on the Saturday, in the afternoon: at what time, the Right Honourable [*Sir JOHN POPHAM Kt.*] the Lord Chief Justice

entered at another gate of the town. The wondering and regardless multitude making his Honour clear way, left the streets where he passed, to gape at me: the throng of them being so great, that poor WILL. KEMP was seven times stayed, ere he could recover his inn.

By reason of the great snow that then fell, I stayed at Bury from Saturday in the Second week of my setting forth, till Thursday night, the next week following.

The Seventh Day's journey, being Friday of the Third week.

UPON Friday morning [*Feb.* 29] I set on towards Thetford, dancing that ten miles in three hours: for I left Bury somewhat after seven in the morning, and was at Thetford somewhat after ten that same forenoon.

But, indeed, considering how I had been booted [*his buskins covered with mire*] before, and that all this way, or the most of it, was over a heath; it was no great wonder. For I fared like one that had escaped the stocks, and tried the use of his legs to outrun the Constable; so light were my heels, that I counted the ten miles no better than a leap.

At my entrance into Thetford, the people came in great numbers to see me: for there were many there, it being [As]size time.

The noble Gentleman, Sir EDWIN RICH, gave me entertainment in such bountiful and liberal sort during my continuance there Saturday and Sunday, that I want fit words to express the least part of his worthy usage of my unworthiness: and to conclude liberally, as he had begun and continued; at my departure on Monday, his Worship gave me five pounds [=£25 *now*].

The Eighth Day's journey, being Monday of the Fourth week.

ON MONDAY morning [*March* 3] I danced to Rockland ere I rested; and coming to my inn, where the host was a very boon companion, I desired to see him: but in no case, he would be spoken with, till he had shifted himself from his working days' suit.

Being armed at all points, from the cap to the foot, his black shoes shining and made straight with copper buckles of the best, his garters in the fashion, and every garment fitting *corremsquandam*, to use his own word; he enters the hall, with his bonnet in his hand, and began to cry out, "O KEMP! dear Master KEMP! You are even as welcome as, as, as," and so stammering he began to study for a fit comparison (and I thank him, at last he fitted me!) for, saith he, "thou art even as welcome as the Queen's best greyhound!"

After this dogged yet well-meaning salutation, the carouses were called in; and my friendly host of Rockland began with, "All this!" blessing the hour upon his knees, that "any of the Queen's Majesty's well-willers or friends would vouchsafe to come within his house!" as if never any such had been within his doors before.

I took his good meaning, and gave him great thanks for his kindness.

And having rested me well, I began to take my course for Hingham, whither my honest host of Rockland would needs be my guide: but, good true fat-belly! he had not followed me two fields, but he lay along and cried after me, to come back and speak with him.

I fulfilled his request, and coming to him, "Dancer!" quoth he, "if thou dance, a God's name! GOD speed thee! I cannot follow thee a foot further! but adieu, good Dancer! GOD speed thee, if thou dance a God's name!"

I having haste of my way, and he being able to keep no way, we parted. Farewell, he! He was a kind good fellow, a true Troyan! and [*if*] it ever be my luck to meet him at more leisure, I'll make him full amends with a cupful of Canary.

But now I am a little better advised, we must not thus let my mad host pass! For my friend, late mentioned before, that made the odd rhyme on my Maid MARIAN, would needs remember my Host! Such as it is, I'll bluntly set down!

He was a man not over spare,
In his eyeballs dwelt no care:
"Anon, anon!" and "Welcome, friend!"
Were the most words he used to spend.

Save, sometimes, he would sit and tell
What wonders once in Boulogne fell!
Closing each period of his tale,
With a full cup of nutbrown ale.
Tourwin and Tournay's sieges were hot,
Yet all my host remembers not.
KETT's Field and Musselborough fray
Were battles fought but yesterday.
"O 'twas a goodly matter then
To see your sword and buckler men!
There would lie here! and here! and there!
But I would meet them everywhere.
And now a man is but a prick.
A boy armed with a poating stick
Will dare to challenge Cutting DICK.
O 'tis a world! the world to see;
But 'twill not mend for thee or me!"
By this, some guest cries, "Ho! the house!"
A fresh friend hath a fresh carouse!
Still he will drink, and still be dry:
And quaff with every company.
Saint MARTIN send him merry mates
To enter at his hostree [*hostelry*] gates!
For a blither lad than he
Cannot an Innkeeper be.

Well, once again, farewell, my host at Rockland!

After all these farewells, I am sure, to Hingham I found a foul way; as before I had done from Thetford to Rockland.

Yet, besides the deep way, I was much hindered by the desire people had to see me.

For even as our shopkeepers will haul, and pull a man, with, "Lack ye! What do you lack, Gentlemen?" "My ware is best!" cries one. "Mine [the] best in England!" says another. "Here, you shall have choice!" saith the third: so were the divers voices of the young men and maidens which I should meet at every mile's end; thronging by twenty, and sometimes forty, yea, hundreds in a company. One cried "the fairest way was through their village!" another, "This is the nearest and fairest way, when you have passed but a mile and a half!" another sort cry, "Turn on

the left hand!" some "on the right hand!" that I was so amazed, I knew not sometimes which way I might best take but haphazard, the people still accompanying me, whereat I was much comforted, though the ways were bad. But, as I said before, at last I overtook it.

The Ninth Day's journey, being Wednesday of the Fourth week.

He next morning [*March* 5] I left Hingham, not staying till I came to Barford Bridge, five young men running all the way with me; for otherwise my pace was not for footmen.

From Barford Bridge, I danced to Norwich [*eight miles*]. But coming within sight of the city, perceiving so great a multitude and throng of people still crowding more and more about me: mistrusting it would be a let [*hindrance*] to my determined expedition and pleasurable humour, which I, long before, conceived, to delight this city with (so far as my best skill and industry of my long travelled sinews could afford them): I was advised, and so took ease by that advice, to stay my Morrice a little above St. Giles his Gate; where I took my gelding, and so rode into the city, procrastinating my merry Morrice dance through the city till better opportunity.

Being come within the city, Master Roger Weild the Mayor, and sundry others of his worshipful Brethren, sent for me. Who perceiving how I intended not to dance into the city that night, and being well satisfied with the reasons; they allotted me time enough not to dance until Saturday after: to the end, that divers Knights and Gentlemen, together with their wives and children, who had been many days before deceived with expectation of my coming, might now, have sufficient warning accordingly, by Saturday following.

In the mean space, and during my still continuance in the city afterwards, they not only very courteously offered to bear mine own charges and my followers; but very bountifully performed it at the common charges. The Mayor and many of the Aldermen, oftentimes besides, invited us privately to their several houses.

To make a short end of this tedious description of my entertainment.

Saturday [*March* 8] no sooner came, but I returned without the city, through St. Giles his Gate; and began my Morrice where I left, at that Gate. But I entered in at St. Stephen's Gate, where one THOMAS GILBERT, in name of all the rest of the city, gave me a friendly and exceeding kind welcome: which I have no reason to omit, unless I would condemn myself of ingratitude; partly for the private affection of the writer towards me, as also for the general love and favour I found in them, from the highest to the lowest, the richest as the poorest.

It follows in these few lines.

Master K E M P *his welcome to Norwich.*

W With heart and hand, among the rest,
E Especially you welcome are!
L Long looked for, as welcome guest:
C Come, now at last! you be from far.
O Of most within the city, sure,
M Many good wishes you have had!
E Each one did pray, you might endure

W With courage good, the match you made!
I Intend they did, with gladsome hearts,
L Like your well-willers, you to meet!

K Know you also, they'll do their parts,
E Either in field or house, to greet
M More you, than any with you came,
P Procured thereto, with trump and fame.

Your well-willer,

T. G.

Passing the gate, there were Whifflers, such Officers as were appointed by the Mayor, to make me way through the throng of the people which pressed so mightily upon me. With great labour, I got through that narrow press, into the open Market Place.

Where, on the Cross, ready prepared, stood the City Waits, which not a little refreshed my weariness, with toiling through so narrow a lane as the people left me. Such Waits (under

Benedicite be it spoken) few cities in our realm have the like, none better! Who, besides their excellency in wind instruments, and their rare cunning on the viol and violin: their voices are admirable! every one of them able to serve in any Cathedral church in Christendom for choristers.

Passing by the Market Place, the press still increasing by the number of boys, girls, men, and women, thronging more and more before me, to see the end; it was the mischance of a homely maid (that, belike, was but newly crept into the fashion of long-waisted petticoats tied with points [*laces or tags*]; and had, as it seemed, but one point tied before) that coming unluckily in my way, as I was fetching a leap, it fell out, that I set my foot on her skirts. The point either breaking or stretching, off fell her petticoat from her waist! but, as chance was, though her smock was coarse, it was cleanly.

Yet the poor wench was so ashamed, the rather for that she could hardly recover her [petti]coat again from unruly boys; that looking before like one that had the green sickness, now had she her cheeks all coloured with scarlet.

I was sorry for her, but on I went towards the Mayor's: and deceived the people, by leaping over the Churchyard wall at St. John's; getting so into Master Mayor's gates a nearer way.

But, at last, I found it the further way about: being forced, on the Tuesday following [*March* 11], to renew my former dance; because GEORGE SPRAT, my Overseer, having lost me in the throng, would not be deposed that I had danced it, since he saw me not. And I must confess, I did not well: for the citizens had caused all the turnpikes to be taken up on Saturday, that I might not be hindered.

But now I return again to my jump, the measure of which is to be seen in the Guildhall at Norwich; where my buskins, that I then wore and danced in from London thither, stand, equally divided, nailed on the wall.

The plenty of good cheer at the Mayor's, his bounty and kind usage; together with the general welcomes of his worshipful Brethren and many others, Knights, Ladies, Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, so much exceeded my expectation, as I adjudged myself most bound to them all.

The Mayor gave me five pounds in *Elizabeth* Angels;

which Mayor, (*fair Madame! to whom I too presumptuously dedicate my idle paces!*) as a man worthy of singular and impartial admiration, if our critic humourous minds could as prodigally conceive as he desires, for his chaste life, liberality, and temperance in possessing worldly benefits. He lives unmarried and childless: and never purchased house nor land; the house he dwells in, this year, being but hired. He lives upon merchandise; being a Merchant Venturer.

If our Merchants and Gentlemen would take example by this man, Gentlemen would not sell their lands, to become bankrupt Merchants; nor Merchants live in the possessions of youth-beguiled Gentlemen; who cast themselves out of their parents' heritages for a few outcast commodities. But Wit! whither wilt thou? What hath Morrice-tripping WILL. to do with that? It keeps not time with his dance! Therefore, room you! moral precepts! Give my legs leave to end my Morrice! or that being ended, my hands leave to perfect this worthless poor tottered [? *tattered*] volume!

Pardon me, Madam! that I am thus tedious! I cannot choose but commend sacred liberality, which makes poor wretches partakers of all comfortable benefits!

Besides the love and favour already repeated, Master WEILD, the Mayor, gave me 40s. [=£10 *now*] yearly, during my life, making me a Freeman of the Merchant Venturers.

This is the substance of all my journey. Therefore let no man believe (however before, by lying Ballets and rumours they have been abused) that either ways [*roads*] were laid open for me, or that I delivered gifts to Her Majesty.

It is good being merry, my Masters! but in a mean! and all my mirths, mean though they be, have been and ever shall be employed to the delight of my royal Mistress! whose sacred Name ought not to be remembered among such ribald rhymes as these late thin-breeched lying Ballet singers have proclaimed it.

It resteth now, that, in a word, I shew what profit I have made by my Morrice.

True it is, I put out some money to have threefold gain at my return [*i.e., he accepted bets of Three to One that he could not dance this Morris to Norwich*]. Some that love me, regard my pains and respect their promise, [and] have sent home the treble worth. Some others, at the first sight, have paid me, if I came to seek them. Others I cannot see, nor will they be willingly found! and these are the greater number.

If they had all used me well; or all, ill: I would have boldly set down the true sum of my small gain or loss! but I will have patience some few days longer.

At the end of which time, if any be behind, I will draw a Catalogue of all their names I ventured with. Those that have shewn themselves honest men; I will set before them this character, **H.** for Honesty. Before the other bench-whistlers shall stand **K.** for Ketlers or Keistrels, that will drive a good companion, without need in them, to contend for his own. But I hope I shall have no such need!

If I have, your honourable protection shall thus far defend your poor servant, that he may, being a plain man, call a spade a spade.

Thus, fearing your Ladyship is wearier with reading this toy than I was in all my merry travail; I crave pardon! and conclude this first pamphlet that ever WILL. KEMP offered to the Press: being thereunto pressed on the one side by the pitiful papers pasted on every post, of that which was neither so, nor so; and, on the other side, urged thereto in duty, to express with thankfulness the kind entertainment I found.

Your Honour's poor servant,

W. K.

KEMP's humble request to the impudent generation of Ballad-makers and their coherents, that it would please their Rascalities to pity his pains in the great journey he pretends [intends]; *and not fill the country with lies of his never-done acts, as they did in his late Morrice to Norwich.*

To the tune of *THOMAS DELONEY's Epitaph.*

MY NOTABLE SHAKE-RAGS!

HE effect of my suit is discovered in the title of my Supplication.

But for your better understandings, for that I know you to be a sort of witless beetle-heads that can understand nothing but what is knocked into your scalps, These are, by these presents, to certify unto your Blockheadships, that I, WILLIAM KEMP, whom you had near[ly] hand-rent in sunder, with your unreasonable rhymes, and shortly, GOD willing! to set forward (as merrily as I may), whither, I myself know not!

Wherefore, by the way, I would wish ye! employ not your little wits in certifying the world that I am gone to Rome, Jerusalem, Venice, or any other place at your idle appoint. I know, the best of ye, by the lies ye wrote of me, got not the price of a good hat to cover your brainless heads! If any of ye had come to me, my bounty should have exceeded the best of your good masters, the ballad buyers! I would have apparelled your dry pates in parti-coloured bonnets!

and bestowed a leash of my cast[-off] bells to have crowned ye, with coxcombs!

I have made a privy search, what private Jigmonger of your jolly number hath been the Author of these abominable Ballets written of me.

I was told, it was the great Ballad-maker, T. D., *alias* THOMAS DELONEY, Chronicler of the memorable Lives of the *Six yeomen of the West*, *JACK of Newbury*, *the Gentle Craft*, &c., and such like honest men, omitted by STOW, HOLLINSHED, GRAFTON, HALLE, FROISSART, and all the rest of those well-deserving writers.

But I was given since to understand, your late General, THOMAS, died poorly (as ye all must do!), and was honestly buried, which is much to be doubted of some of you! [*This fixes DELONEY's death about March*, 1600.]

The Quest [*inquest*] of Inquiry finding him, by death acquitted of the Indictment; I was let to wit, that another Lord of Little Wit, one whose employment for the Pageant was utterly spent, he being known to be ELDERTON's immediate heir, was vehemently suspected: but, after due inquisition was made, he was at that time known to live like a man in a mist, having quite given over the mystery.

Still the Search continuing, I met a proper upright youth, only for a little stooping in the shoulder, all heart to the heel, a penny Poet; whose first making [*ballad*] was the miserable stolen story of *MACDOEL*, or *MACDOBETH*, or *MAC*-somewhat: for I am sure a *MAC* it was, though I never had the maw to see it: and he told me there was a fat filthy Ballet-maker that should have once been his journeyman to the trade, who lived about the town; and, ten to one! but he had thus terribly abused me and my Tabourer, for that he was able to do such a thing in print. A shrewd presumption!

I found him about the Bankside, sitting at a play. I desired to speak with him, had him to a tavern, charged [*i.e.*, *for him*] a pipe with tobacco, and then laid this terrible accusation to his charge. He swells presently like one of

the four winds. The violence of his breath blew the tobacco out of the pipe, and the heat of his wrath drank dry two bowls of Rhenish wine.

At length having power to speak, "Name my accuser!" saith he, "or I defie thee, KEMP! at the quart[er] staff!"

I told him! and all his anger turned to laughter; swearing "it did him good to have ill words of a hoddy doddy! a habber de hoy! [? *hobbledehoy*], a chicken! a squib! a squall! One that hath not wit enough to make a ballet; that by POL and AEDIPOL would Pol his father, Derick his dad! do anything, how ill soever, to please his apish humour!"

I hardly believed this youth, that I took to be gracious, had been so graceless; but I heard, afterwards, his mother-in-law was eye-and ear-witness of his father's abuse, by this blessed child, on a public Stage, in "a merry Host of an Inn's" part.

Yet all this while, could not I find out the true ballet maker; till, by chance, a friend of mine pulled out of his pocket, a book in Latin, called *Mundus furiosus*, printed at Cullen [*Cologne*], written by one of the vilest and arrantest lying cullians [*wretches*] that ever wrote book; his name JANSONUS: who, taking upon him to write an abstract of all the turbulent actions that had been lately attempted or performed in Christendom, like an unchristian wretch! writes only by report, partially, and scoffingly of such whose page's shoes he was unworthy to wipe. For indeed he is now dead. Farewell, he! every dog must have a day!

But see the luck on it! This beggarly lying busybody's name brought out the Ballad-maker [? *RICHARD JOHNSON*]! and it was generally confirmed it was his kinsman! He confesses himself guilty, let any man look on his face! if there be not so red a colour that all the soap in the town will not wash white, let me be turned into a whiting, as I pass between Dover and Calais!

Well, GOD forgive thee, honest fellow!

I see, thou hast grace in thee! I prithee, do so no more! Leave writing these beastly ballets! make not good wenches, Prophetesses for little or no profit! nor for a sixpenny matter, revive not a poor fellow's fault that is hanged for his offence! it may be thine own destiny, one day: prithee, be good to them!

Call up, thy old MELPOMENE! whose strawberry quill may write the bloody lines of *the blue Lady*, and the *Prince of the burning crown*: a better subject I can tell ye! than your *Knight of the Red Cross*. So farewell! and cross me no more, I prithee! with thy rabble of bald rhymes,

least at my return, I set a cross
on thy forehead, that all
men may know thee
for a fool!

WILLIAM KEMP.

FINIS.

THE
GREAT FROST.

Cold doings in London, except it be at the

LOTTERY.

With News out of the Country.

A familiar talk between a Countryman and a Citizen touching this terrible Frost, and the Great Lottery, and the effects of them.

Printed at London for *Henry Gosson*, and are to be sold at the sign of the
[*The rest of the imprint is cut off in Mr. Huth's copy.*]

A Table of the most special matters of note contained in this short Discourse.

1. A description of the Thames being frozen over.

2. The dangers that hath happened to some persons passing upon the Thames.

3. The harms that this frost hath done to the City.

4. The misery that the country people are driven into by the means of this frost.

5. The frosts in other Kings' times compared with this.

6. A description of the Lottery.

THE GREAT FROST.

Cold doings in London.

A Dialogue.

THE SPEAKERS.

A Citizen.

A Countryman.

Citizen. LD FATHER, you are most heartily welcome to London!

Countryman. Sir, I give you most kind and hearty thanks: but you must pardon me, I am an old man and have those defects that go along with old age. I have both bad eyes to discern my friends and a weak memory to keep their names in mind. I have quite lost the remembrance of you.

Cit. Nay, father, I am a mere stranger to you: but seeing white hairs to cover your head as well as mine own, I make bold to reach out my hand to you. There is honesty in your very looks; and every honest man is worthy, and ought to be taken into acquaintance.

Coun. I am beholden to you for this courtesy. You citizens are civil, and we poor country fellows are plain: but albeit I walk in russet and coarse grey, I have a true heart. What is your pleasure, Sir?

Cit. If your haste be no greater than mine—for blessed be GOD, we have now too many idle hours against our will—I would gladly confer with you of the state of the country; and if I can delight you with any city news, you shall have my bosom opened freely.

Coun. The ploughman's hands, Sir, are now held in his pocket as well as the shopkeeper's. I have as little to do as you, and therefore an hour's chat shall please me well. We old men are old chronicles, and when our tongues go they are not clocks to tell only the time present, but large books unclasped; and our speeches, like leaves turned over and over, discover wonders that are long since past.

Cit. I am glad that I have met with an old man that hath not stood still all his life like a pool; but like a river hath run through the world to get experience. But I pray you, of what country are you?

Coun. Of Ripon in Yorkshire.

Cit. And, if it be not too much beyond the rule of good manners; let me be bold to inquire what drew you, dwelling so far off, to travel to London?

Coun. Marry, Sir, I will tell you: even that drew me to London which draws you out of your houses; that which makes you cry out in London "We have cold doings," and to leave your shops to catch your heat in the streets: nay, to leave your new beautiful walks in Moorfields—for those I have seen at my entering into the city—and to make newer and larger walks, though not so safe, upon a field of glass as it were. That slippery world, which I beheld, as I remember, in the fifth year of the reign of Queen ELIZABETH—or I am sure I am not much wide—do I come thus far to behold again in the fifth year of our good King JAMES: and that is, in a few cold words, the Thames frozen over.

Cit. Yea, father, and frozen over and over.

Coun. I have but two ears, Sir—if I had more I were a monster: but those two ears bring me home a thousand tales in less than seven days. Some I hearken to, some I shake my head at, some I smile at, some I think true, some I know false. But because this world is like our millers in the country, knavish and hard to be trusted; though mine ears be mine own and good, yet I had rather give credit to mine eyes: although they see but badly, yet they will not cozen

me; they have not these fourscore years. And that is the reason I have made them my guides now in this journey: and they shall be my witnesses—when I get home again and sit, as I hope I shall, turning a crab by the fire—of what wonders I have been a beholder.

Cit. In good sadness, father, I am proud that such a heap of years lying on your back, you stoop no lower for them. I come short of you by more than twenty; and methinks I am both more unlusty and look more aged.

Coun. Oh, Sir, riots! riots! surfeits! surfeits stick white hairs upon young men's chins; when sparing diets hold colour. Your crammed capons feed you fat here in London; but our beef and bacon feed us strong in the country. Long sleeps and late watchings dry up your blood and wither your cheeks: we go to bed with the lamb and rise with the lark, which makes our blood healthful. You are still sending to the apothecaries and still crying out to "fetch Master Doctor to me:" but our apothecary's shop is our garden full of potherbs, and our doctor is a good clove of garlic. I am as lusty and sound at heart, I praise my GOD, as my yoke of bullocks that are the servants to my plough.

Cit. Yet I wonder that having no more sand in the glass of your life—for young men may reckon years, but we old men must count upon minutes—I wonder, I say, how you durst set forth, and how you could come thus far.

Coun. How I durst set forth! If King HARRY were now alive again, I durst and would, as old and stiff as I am, go with him to Boulogne. We have trees in our town that bear fruit in winter. I am one of those winter plums; and though I taste a little sour, yet I am sound at heart and shall not rot yet I hope, for all this frost.

Cit. It were pity so reverend an oak should so soon be felled down. You may stand and grow yet many a year.

Coun. Yes, Sir, downward. Downward you and I must grow, like ears of corn when they be ripe. But I beseech you tell me. Is that goodly river of yours—I call it yours because you are a citizen and that river is the nurse that gives milk and honey to your city—but is that lady of fresh waters all covered over with ice?

Cit. All over, I assure you, father. The frost hath made a floor upon it, which shows like grey marble roughly hewn

out. It is a very pavement of glass, but that it is more strong. The Thames now lies in; or rather is turned, as some think, bankrupt: and dares not show her head; for all the water of it floats up and down like a spring in a cellar.

Coun. GOD help the poor fishes! It is a hard world with them, when their houses are taken over their heads. They use not [*are not accustomed*] to lie under such thick roofs. But I pray, Sir, are all the arches of your famous London Bridge so dammed up with ice that the flakes show like so many frozen gates shut up close; and that nothing passes through them; nay, that a man cannot look through them as he had wont?

Cit. No such matter. The Thames with her ebbing and flowing, hath at sundry times brought down, aye winter castles of ice; which, jostling against the arches of the Bridge, and striving—like an unruly drunkard at a gate of the city in the night time—to pass through, have there been stayed and lodged so long till they have lain in heaps, and got one upon another: but not so ambitiously as you speak of them.

Coun. And do not the western barges come down upon certain artificial pulleys and engines, sliding on the ice; to serve your city with fuel?

Cit. That were a wonder worth the seeing, and more strange than the rowing over steeples by land in a wherry. I assure you these stories shall never stand in our chronicles. There is no such motion.

Coun. But I hope, Sir, you and I may drink a pint of sack in the tavern that runs upon wheels on the river, as well as a thousand have done besides, may we not? The motion of that wine cellar, I am sure is to be seen. Is it not?

Cit. The water cellar is, but the wine cellars have too good doings on the land to leave that, and to set up taverns on the river. You know more in the country I perceive than we do in the city of these matters.

Coun. Nay, Sir, we hear more but know less. We hear the lies, and you know the truth. Why law you now, had not I made this journey to London, I had died in misbelief. Mine ears might thus have made me to have been called an old doting fool. For I, giving credit to report, should have uttered these fables for truths: and I being an old man, should

have been believed—for a white head ought not to hold a black tongue—and so my sons and daughters, taking a father's word, might peradventure forty years hence have been called clowns for justifying a lie so monstrous and incredible.

Cit. Bar all these rumours hereafter out of your ears; for they are false and deceitful, and fly up and down like lapwings; their in times being there it is, when it is not.

Coun. You, Sir, are a man, that by your head and beard, as well as myself, should be one of TIME's sons, and should therefore love his daughter, TRUTH. Make me so much beholding to you, as to receive from you the right picture of all these your waterworks; how they began, how they have grown, and in what fashion have continued.

Cit. Most gladly will I satisfy your request. You shall understand that the Thames began to put on his "freeze-coat," which he yet wears, about the week before Christmas; and hath kept it on till now this latter end of January [1608]: how long time soever besides to come none but GOD knows.

The Thames described as it was frozen.

Coun. Did it never thaw in these many weeks?

Cit. Only three days, or four at the most; and that but weakly, to dissolve so great a hardness. The cakes of ice, great in quantity and in great numbers, were made and baked cold in the mouth of winter, at the least a fortnight or three weeks before they were crusted and cemented together; but after they once joined their strengths into one, their backs held out and could not be broken.

Coun. We may make this good use, even out of this watery and transformed element; that London upholdeth a State: and again, that violent factions and combinations, albeit of the basest persons, in a commonwealth are not easily dissolved; if once they be suffered to grow up to a head. On, Sir, I pray.

Cit. This cold breakfast being given to the city, and the Thames growing more and more hard-hearted; wild youths and boys were the first merchant-venturers that set out to discover these cold islands of ice upon the river. And the first path that was beaten forth to pass to the Bank Side, without going over [London] Bridge or by boat, was about Cold Harbour and in those places near the Bridge: for the tides still piling up the flakes

First going over the Thames on the ice about Cold Harbour.

of ice one upon another in those parts of the Thames; it was held the best and the safest travelling into our new found Freeze-Land by those creeks.

Coun. But this onset prospering and they coming off well heartened others to come on, Sir, did it not?

Cit. No soldiers more desperate in a skirmish. Speak it, father, from my mouth for an assured truth, that there was as it were an artificial bridge of ice reaching from one side of the river to the other, upon which infinite numbers of people passed to and fro, jostling one another in crowds: while the current of the water ran in sight, more than half the breadth of the Thames, on either side of that icy bridge; the bridge itself being not above five yards broad, if so much.

Coun. It was strange! But it was said of you Londoners that when you strive to be kind, you turn into prodigals; when you are cowards, you are arrant cowards; and when you are bold, you are too desperately venturous.

Cit. It appears so by this frost: for no danger could nip their bloods with fear; but over some went in shoals, when thousands stood gazing on and swore they would not follow their steps in that watery wilderness for many thousands of pounds. Nay, even many of those that were the discoverers and did first venture over, would never undertake the second voyage: but protested when they were half way they would have lost much to have been again on shore.

Coun. It is most likely: for perils that are not common make men foolhardy; but being once tasted, they tremble to come near them.

Cit. You say true, father: but the fear of this shipwreck and of these rocks grew every day less and less. As the ice increased in hardness, so men's hearts increased in hardiness: so that at the length—the frost knitting all his sinews together; and the inconstant water by that means, being of a floating element, changed into a firm ground as it were—both men, women, and children walked over and up and down in such companies; that, I verily believe and I dare almost swear it, the one half, if not three parts of the people in the city have been seen going on the Thames. The river showed not now, neither shows it yet, like a river, but like a field; where archers shoot at pricks, [*targets*] while others play at football. It is a place of mastery,

What numbers of people walked on the Thames.

where some wrestle and some run; and he that does best is aptest to take a fall. It is an alley to walk upon without dread, albeit under it be most assured danger. The gentlewomen that tremble to pass over a bridge in the field, do here walk boldly. The citizen's wife that looks pale when she sits in a boat for fear of drowning, thinks that here she treads as safe now as in her parlour. Of all ages, of both sexes, of all professions, this is the common path. It is the roadway between London and Westminster, and between Southwark and London. Would you drink a cup of sack, father? here stand some with runlets to fill it out.

Coun. Ah ha! that is the tavern then that is talked on.

Cit. Thirst you for beer, ale, usquebaugh, &c.; or for victuals? There you may buy it, because [*in order that*] you may tell another day how you dined upon the Thames. Are you cold with going over? You shall ere you come to the midst of the river, spy some ready with pans of coals to warm your fingers. If you want fruit after you have dined, there stand costermongers to serve you at your call. And thus do people leave their houses and the streets; turning the goodliest river in the whole kingdom into the broadest street to walk in.

Beer, ale, wine, victuals and fires on the Thames.

Coun. But tell me, I pray, Sir, if all the merchants that undertake this voyage to these your narrow seas; are none undone? Do none of your fresh-water soldiers miscarry, and drop down in these slippery marshes?

Cit. Yes, Sir, I have heard of many and have been an eyewitness of some: of all which, I will be sparing in report, being rather willing to be reprehended for telling too little than for discovering too much.

Coun. It is a modesty that well becomes any man, albeit nothing but truth sit upon his tongue. But I pray, sithence [*since*] you crack the shell, let us see what kernel there is within it: sithence you have bestowed the sweet, let me taste the sour. Let your news be as country folks bring fruit to your markets, the bad and good together. Say, have none gone "westward for smelts," as our proverbial phrase is?

Cit. Yes, it hath been a kind of battle for the time. For some have fallen in up to the knees, others to the middle, others to the armpits; yea, and some have been ducked over head and ears, yet have

The harms that have fallen on several persons going on the Thames.

crawled out like drowned rats: while others have sunk to the bottom that never rose again to the top. They had a cold bed to lie in! Amongst many other misfortunes that are to be pitied, this is one. A couple of friends shooting on the Thames with birding pieces, it happened they struck a sea-pie or some other fowl. They both ran to fetch it. The one stumbled forward, his head slipped into a deep hole, and there he was drowned: the other in his haste slipped backward, and by that means saved his life.

A poor fellow likewise having heated his body with drink, thought belike to cool it on the water: but coming to walk on the ice, his head was too heavy for his heels; so that down he fell, and there presently died.

Coun. Let his fall give others warning how to stand. Your city cannot choose but to be much damnified [*injured*] by this strange congealing of the river.

The hurt that the City hath received by this frost.

Cit. Exceeding much, father. Strangers may guess at our harms: yet none can give the full number of them but we that are the inhabitants. For the City by this means is cut off from all commerce. Shop-keepers may sit and ask "What do you lack?" when the passengers [*passers by*] may very well reply "What do you lack yourselves?" They may sit and stare on men, but not sit and sell. It was, before, called "The dead term:" and now may we call this "The dead vacation," "The frozen vacation," "The cold vacation." If it be a gentleman's life to live idly and do nothing, how many poor artificers and tradesmen have been made gentlemen then by this frost? For a number of occupations—like the flakes of ice that lie in the Thames—are by this malice of WINTER, trod clean under foot, and will not yet be able to stir. Alas, poor watermen! you have had cold cheer at this banquet. You that live altogether upon water, can scarce get water to your hands. It is a hard thing now for you to earn your bread with the sweat of your brows.

Coun. This beating may make them wise. The want that this hard season drives them into, may teach them to play the ants; and in summer to make a provision against the wrath of winter. There is no mischief born alone, I know. Calamities commonly are, by birth, twins. Methinks, therefore, that this drying up of the waters should be a devourer up

of wood. This cold ague of the earth must needs have warmth to help it. That warmth must come from fire, and that fire cannot be had without cost: how then, I pray you, in this so general an affliction did poor people shift for fuel to comfort them?

Cit. Their care for fire was as great as for food. Nay, to want it was a worse torment than to be without meat. The belly was now pinched to have the body warmed: and had not the provident Fathers of this city [*i. e. the Corporation*] carefully, charitably and out of a good and godly zeal, dispersed a relief to the poor in several parts and places about the outer bounds of the City, where poverty most inhabiteth; by storing them beforehand with sea coal and other firing at a reasonable rate, I verily persuade myself that the unconscionable and unmerciful raising of the prices of fuel by chandlers, woodmongers, &c.—who now meant to lay the poor on the rack—would have been the death of many a wretched creature through want of succour. The want of fire.

Coun. Not unlikely, Sir.

Cit. For neither could coal be brought up the river, neither could wood be sent down. The western barges might now wrap up their smoky sails; for albeit they had never so lofty a gale, their voyage was spoiled: the winds were with them, but the tide was clean against them. And not only hath this frost nipped away those comforts that should revive the outward parts of the body; but those also that should give strength and life to the inward. For you of the country being not able to travel to the City with victuals, the price of victail must of necessity be enhanced; and victail itself brought into a scarcity. And thus have I given you, according to your request, a true picture of our Thames frozen over; and withal have drawn in as lively colours as I can, to my skill, as it were in a little table [*picture*], all the miseries, mischiefs and inconveniences, which this hard time hath thrown upon our City. Dearth of victuals.

Coun. Sir, you have satisfied me to the full; and have given unto me so good a taste of your love, that if I should live double the years that are already scored on my head, I cannot choose but die indebted to your kindness.

Cit. Not so, father, for you shall, if you please, come out of my debt presently; and your payment shall be in the self-same coin that you received of me, that is to say words.

Coun. I am glad, Sir, you will take a poor countryman's word for so round a sum as I acknowledge is owing to you. You are a merciful creditor. GOD send me always to deal with such chapmen! But how will you set down my payments?

Cit. Marry thus, father. As I have discovered unto you what cold doings we have had during this frost in the city; so, I pray, let me understand from you what kind of world you have lived in, in the country.

Coun. The world with us of the country runs upon the old rotten wheels. For all the northern cloth that is woven in our country will scarce make a gown to keep Charity warm; she goes so a-cold. Rich men had never more money, and Covetousness had never less pity. There was never in any age more money stirring, nor never more stir to get money. Farmers are now slaves to racking young prodigal landlords. Those landlords are more servile slaves to their own riots and luxury. But these are the common diseases of every kingdom, and therefore are but common news. The tunes of the nightingale are stale in the middle of summer, because we hear them at the coming in of the spring: and so these harsh notes which are sung in every country do by custom grow not to be regarded. But your desire, Sir, is to know how we spend the days of this our frozen age in the country.

News out of the country

Cit. That I would hear indeed, father.

Coun. Believe me, Sir, as wickedly you must think as you can hear in your City. It goes as hard with us as it doth with you. The same cold hand of WINTER is thrust into our bosoms. The same sharp air strikes wounds into our bodies. The same sun shines upon us; but the same sun doth not heat us any more than it doth you. The poor ploughman's children sit crying and blowing their nails, as lamentably as the children and servants of your poor artificers. Hunger pinches their cheeks, as deep into the flesh as it doth into yours here. You cry out here, you are undone for coals: and we complain, we shall die for want of wood. All your care is to provide for your wives, children, and servants in this time of sadness: but we go beyond you in cares. Not only our wives, our children and household servants are unto us a cause of sorrow: but we grieve as much to behold the misery of our poor cattle in

The miseries that country people feel by this frost.

this frozen-hearted season, as it doth to look upon our own affliction. Our beasts are our faithful servants; and do their labour truly when we set them to it. They are our nurses that give us milk, they are our guides in our journeys, they are our partners and help to enrich our state; yea, they are the very upholders of a poor farmer's lands and living. Alas! then, what master that loves his servant as he ought, but would almost break his own heartstrings with sighing; to see these pine and mourn as they do? The ground is bare and not worth a poor handful of grass. The earth seems barren and bears nothing: or if she doth most unnaturally she kills it presently [*at once*] or suffers it through cold to perish. By which means the lusty horse abates his flesh and hangs his head, feeling his strength go from him; the ox stands bellowing, the ragged sheep bleating, the poor lamb shivering and starving to death.

The poor cottager that hath but a cow to live upon must feed upon hungry meals, GOD knows! when the beast herself hath but a bare commons. He that is not able to bid all his cattle home, and to feast them with fodder out of his barns; will scarce have cattle at the end of summer to fetch home his harvest. Which charge of feeding so many beastly [*beasts*] mouths, is able to eat up a countryman's estate; if his providence before time hath not been the greater to meet and prevent such storms. Of necessity our sheep, oxen, &c., must be in danger of famishing; having nothing but what our old grandam the earth will allow them to live upon. Of necessity must they pine; sithence [*since*] all the fruits that had wont to spring out of her fertile womb are now nipped in their birth, and likely never to prosper. And to prove that the ground hath her very heart as it were broken, and that she hath not lively sap enough in her veins left as yet to quicken her, and to raise her up to strength; behold this one infallible token. The Leek, whose courage hath ever been so undaunted that he hath borne up his lusty head in all storms, and could never be compelled to shrink for hail, snow, frost or showers; is now by the violence and cruelty of this weather beaten into the earth, being rotted, dead, disgraced, and trod upon.

And thus, Sir, if words may be taken for current payment to a creditor so worthy as yourself, have I tendered some

part of my love in requital of yours. You gave unto me a map of your city as it stands now in the frost; and I bestowed upon you a model of the country which I pray receive with as friendly a hand as that which offers it.

Cit. I do, with millions of thanks. The story which you told, albeit it yet makes my heart bleed to think upon the calamities of my poor countrymen, yet was it uttered with so grave a judgment and in a time so well befitting your age that I kept mine ears open and my lips locked up; for I was loth to interrupt you till all was told: wherein you show yourself to be a careful and honest debtor in discharging your bond all at one sum, when you might have done it in several payments.

But I pray you, father, what is your opinion of this strange winter? I call you, father, albeit my own head be whitened by old age as well as yours; and be not angry that I do so, it is an honourable title due unto your years. For as those that are young men to me, bestow that dignity upon my silver hairs, and I am proud to take it: so would I not have you disdain that attribute from my mouth, that am a young man to you; sithence I do it out of love and the reverence I bear to my elders. Tell me therefore, I pray, your judgment of this frost; and what, in the school of your experience you have read or can remember, may be the effects which it may produce or which, of consequence, are likely to follow upon it.

Coun. I shall do my best to satisfy you. When these great hills of ice shall be digged down and be made level with the waters; when these hard rocks shall melt into soft rivers, and that a sudden thaw shall overcome this sharp frost, then is it to be feared that the swift, violent, and unresistible land currents will bear down bridges, beat down buildings, overflow our cornfields, overrun the pastures, drown our cattle, and endanger the lives both of man and beast travelling on their way.

The dangers that a thaw is likely to bring with it.

Cit. You say right. This prognostication which your judgment looks into did always fall out to be too true: but what other weather doth your calendar promise?

Coun. I will not hide within me from you that which time and observation have taught me. And albeit strange unto you that an old country penny-father, a plain holland ruff

and a kersey stocking, should talk thus of the change of season and the mutability of the world: yet, Sir, know, I beseech you, that my education was finer than my russet outside; and that my parents did not only provide to leave me something, but took care, above that transitory blessing, that I should taste a little of the fruit of learning and knowledge.

Cit. It will be a pleasing and profitable journey to our countrymen though a laborious voyage for you.

Coun. I have read how in the reign of King WILLIAM *Rufus*, in the fifth year [1091–92 A.D.] as I remember, that rivers of this kingdom were so frozen over that carts and wains laden did without danger pass over them. King WILLIAM *Rufus*.

In the sixth year of the reign of King JOHN, a frost began upon the 13th of January [1205 A.D.] and continued till the 22nd of March following: the earth by means of it being so hardened that the plough lay still and the ground could not be tilled. The wounds that this frost gave the commonwealth were for that present scarce felt; they were not deep, they were not thought dangerous: but the summer following did they freshly begin to bleed; for then a quarter of wheat was sold for a mark [13s. 4d. = £10 10s. *in present value*], which in the reign of HENRY the SECOND (before him) was sold for no more than twelve pence. King JOHN.

There was likewise so great a frost in the 53rd year of the reign of HENRY the THIRD, that being at Saint Andrew's tide [30 November 1268 A.D.]; it continued till Candlemas [2 February 1269 A.D.]: so that men and beasts went over the Thames from Lambeth to Westminster; and the goods of merchants not being able to be transported by water, were carried from Sandwich and other havens, and so brought to London by land. But no extraordinary or memorable accident following or going before this frost I will pass over it, and come to that frost season in the tenth year [1281–82 A.D.] of EDWARD the FIRST, whose violent working was so cruel, and did build such castles of ice upon the Thames and other rivers, that five arches of London bridge were borne down, and all Rochester bridge was carried clean away, with divers others. King HENRY. King EDWARD the FIRST.

In the seven and thirtieth year of EDWARD the THIRD

a frost began in England about the midst of September [1363 A.D.]; and thawed not till April [1364 A.D.] following: so that it continued almost eight months.

King EDWARD the THIRD.

In the ninth year [1407–8 A.D.] of King HENRY the FOURTH; was there a frost that lasted fifteen weeks.

King HENRY the FOURTH.

The like happened in the fourth year [1464–65 A.D.] of EDWARD the FOURTH.

King EDWARD the FOURTH.

In the ninth year [1517–18 A.D.] of King HENRY the EIGHTH, the Thames was frozen over, that men with horses and carts passed upon it: and in the very next succeeding year died multitudes of people by a strange disease called the "sweating sickness."

King HENRY the EIGHTH.

There was one great frost more in England, in our memory, and that was in the seventh year of Queen ELIZABETH: which began upon the 21st of December [1564 A.D.] and held on so extremely that upon New Year's Eve following people in multitudes went upon the Thames from London bridge to Westminster; some—as you tell me, Sir, they do now—playing at football, others shooting at pricks. This frost began to thaw upon the third day of January [1565 A.D.] at night, and on the fifth of the same month there was no ice to be seen between London bridge and Lambeth: which sudden thaw brought forth sudden harms. For houses and bridges were overturned by the land floods; among which Owes [*Ouse*] bridge in Yorkshire was borne away; many numbers of people perishing likewise by those waters.

Queen ELIZABETH.

Cit. You have a happy memory, father. Your head, I see, is a very storehouse of antiquity. You are of yourself, a whole volume of chronicles. TIME hath well bestowed his lessons upon you; for you are a ready scholar of his, and do repeat his stories by heart perfectly.

Coun. And thus, as I said before, you may perceive that these extraordinary fevers have always other evils attending upon them.

Cit. You have made it plain unto me: and I pray GOD—at whose command the sun sends forth his heat to comfort the earth, and the winds' bitter storms to deface the fruits of it—that in this last affliction of waters, which are hardened against us, all other miseries may be closed withal; and that

the stripes of sundry plagues and calamities which for these many years have been seen sticking in our flesh, may work in our bodies such amendment, and in our souls such repentance, that the rod of the divine Justicer may be held back from scourging us any longer.

Coun. I gladly and from my heart play the clerk, crying "Amen." I have been bold and troublesome to you, Sir.

Cit. You teach me what language to speak to yourself in. I would neither of us both had ever spent an hour worse.

Coun. Indeed, time is a jewel of incomparable value; yet, as unthrifts do by their money, we are prodigal in wasting it; and never feel the true sweetness of enjoying it till we have lost all. But sithence I have waded thus far into conference with you, and that it is our agreement to barter away news one with another, as merchants do their commodities, I must request one kindness more at your hands.

Cit. What is that, father? I am now in your debt, and in conference I must see you satisfied.

Coun. I hear, Sir, strange report of a certain lottery for plate of a great value here in London. Is it true?

Cit. It is true that there is a lottery, and it is set up by strangers.

Coun. I remember that, as I take it, in the eleventh year [1568–69 A.D.] of Queen ELIZABETH, a lottery began here in London; in which, if my memory fail not, there were four hundred thousand lots to be drawn.

Cit. You say right. So much still lies in my memory.

Coun. Marry, that lottery was only for money, and every lot was ten shillings [= £5 *in present value*]. It was held at the west door of Saint Paul's church. It began upon the 11th of January [1569] and continued day and night till the 6th of May following, which was almost four months: and the common burden of that song, when poor prizes were drawn, was *Twopence halfpenny*.

Cit. That was a prize poor enough, I'll be sworn. Nay, father, then was there another gallant lottery about the eight and twentieth year of the same queen's reign, which began in the middle of summer [1586 A.D.], and was for marvellously rich and costly armour, gilt and engraven.

Coun. That lottery I heard of, but never saw it: for I was then in the country.

Cit. To win that armour, all the Companies of the city ventured general sums of money [*i.e. money belonging to their several Corporations*]. But because you desire to hear some news of this last lottery that now tempteth the people together, I will tell you so much of it as I certainly know for truth; referring your ear, if you would know more, to the great voice of the vulgar, of whom you may be sure to have more than willingly you will carry home.

Coun. Oh, Sir, the wild beast with many heads must needs have as many tongues; and it is not possible those tongues should go true, no more than all the clocks do. But, I pray you, speak on.

Cit. This lottery, as I said before, consisteth all of plate. It is a goodly goldsmith's shop to come into: and to behold so many gilt spoons, cups, bowls, basons, ewers, &c., fairly graven and richly gilded, who would not be tempted to venture a shilling—for that is a stake for a lot—when for that shilling he may haply draw a piece of plate worth a hundred pounds [= £1000 *in present value*], or a hundred and forty, fifty, or threescore pounds; if he can catch it, which he may if fortune favour him.

Coun. Oh, Sir, that sound of a hundred pounds makes good music in the ear, and draws men to hearken to it. Those are the sweet baits; but upon what hooks, I pray you, are those lickerish baits hung?

Cit. Upon villanous long ones. For to every prize there are put in forty blanks; so there are so many tricks to set a man beside the saddle, and but one to leap in. There are 7,600 prizes and 42,000 blanks. A number of hard-choked pears must be swallowed before the delicate fruit can be tasted.

Coun. And yet I hear that the people fly thither like wild geese.

Cit. You may well say like wild geese: for some of them prove such goose caps by going thither, that they leave themselves no more feathers on their backs than a goose hath when she is plucked. I have sat there and beheld the faces of all sorts of people that flock to this fair of silver household stuff. It is better than ten comedies to note their entrances into the place and their exits: and yet, in good truth, I have been heartily sorry to see what tragical

ends have fallen upon some poor housekeepers that have come thither. About the doors, multitudes still are crowding; above, the room is continually filled with people. Every mouth is bawling out for lots, and every hand thrust out to snatch them. Both hands are lifted up, the one to deliver the condemned shillings, the other to receive the papers of life and death. And when the papers, which are rolled up like wafers, are paid for; lo! what praying is there in every corner that GOD would, if it be His will, send them good fortune. How gingerly do they open their twelvepenny commodity! How leisurely, with what gaping of the mouth, with what licking of the lips, as though they felt sweetness in it before they tasted it! How the standers by encourage him that hath drawn to open boldly, as if it were to venture upon the mouth of a cannon: and with what strange passions and pantings does he turn over his waste papers? But when he finds within but a pale piece of paper, Lord! how he swears at his own folly, curses the Frenchmen, and cries "A plague on the house" and wishes all the plate were molten and poured down the throats of them that own it. Yet when he hath emptied his bosom of all this bitterness, the very casting of his eye upon a goodly fair bason of silver so sweetens the remembrance of his lost money, that to it he falls again; and never gives over so long as he can make any shift for the other shilling. And thus do a number of poor men labour with a kind of greediness to beggar themselves.

Coun. But amongst all these land rovers, have none of them the luck of men of war to win rich prizes?

Cit. Yes, some do: and the making of one is the undoing of a hundred: for the sight of a standing bowl being borne openly away in triumph by some poor fellow, so sets all their teeth on edge that are the gazers on, that many are almost mad till they have sold their pewter, in hope to change it into a cupboard of silver plate. And so far does this frenzy lead some, especially the baser sort of people, that this man pawns his cloak; that man his holiday breeches; this woman sell her brass; that gossip makes away with her linen: and all these streams meet in the end in one river. These do all suffer shipwreck, and the sea swallows the spoil. The one goes home crying and cursing, the other stands still tickling

with laughter; the one hugs himself for his good success, the other is ready to hang himself for his ill-fortune. Carmen sell their horses and give over drawing of loads to draw lots. There came a young wench in one day, a maid-servant, that had newly received her quarter's wages, and was going to buy clothes to her back: but this silver mine standing in her way, here she vowed to dig and to try if she could be made for ever. She ventured all her money, and lost all: but when she saw it gone, she sighed and swore that the loss of her maidenhead should never have grieved her so much as the loss of her wages.

Coun. I believe her, Sir.

Cit. Imagine how a vintner's boy, having received a reckoning of his master's guests, and they falling presently to dice; if the drawer should set his master's money, and crying "at all," should lose it all: how would that fellow look? even so looked that poor wench.

Coun. Are there—think you, Sir—no deceits in this lottery to cozen and abuse the people?

Cit. Trust me, father, I dare accuse no man of any, because I know of none. Such actions as these—how warrantable soever, and strengthened by the best authorities who have wisdom to look through and through them—if there were any juggling conceit, notwithstanding stand from the stings of slander. If any villany be done, the people that swarm hither practise it one against another.

Coun. And how, I pray you, Sir?

Knavish tricks done at the lottery.

Cit. For I have been told that some one crafty knave amongst the rest, taking upon him to play the good shepherd over the flock that stands about him, hath gathered money from several men or women, he himself likewise putting in his own; and then keeping a crowding to pass through the press, he comes back and delivers so many blanks as he received shillings: which blanks were not of the lottery, but cunningly made up by himself and carried of purpose up and down by him in his pocket.

Coun. They are worthily served that will be cheated by such a doctor in the art of knavery. If any man therefore will needs be, as the term is now, one of these "twelvepenny gulls," let him hereafter set his own lime twigs; and then if he catch no bird, nobody else shall laugh at him.

Cit. Amongst many other things upon the frozen Thames that will, in times to follow, look to be remembered, this is one. That there were two barber's shops—in the fashion of booths, with signs and other properties of that trade belonging to them—fixed on the ice: to which many numbers of people resorted: and, albeit they wanted no shaving, yet would they here be trimmed, because [*in order that*] another day they might report that they lost their hair between Bank Side and London. Both these shops were still so full that the workmen thought every day had been a Saturday. Never had they more barberous doings for the time. There was both old polling and cold polling. And albeit the foundation of their houses stood altogether upon a watery ground, yet they that were doctors of the barber's chair feared no danger: for it was a hard matter almost now for a man to find water to drown himself, if he had been so desperate.

Then had they other games of "nine holes" and "pigeon holes" in great numbers. And this, father, did I observe as worthy to be remembered, that when the watermen, who had cold doings for a long time, had by main labour cut down with axes and such like instruments a lane and open passage between Queenhithe and the further bank [in Southwark], so that boats went surely to and fro, yet were people in great multitudes running, walking, sliding, and playing at games and exercises as boldly as if they had been on firm land, the Thames running mainly [powerfully] between them; and taking boats at Queenhithe or any other stairs, they would as fiercely leap upon the very brim of the caked ice as if it had been a strong wharf or the ground itself.

And thus much, father, touching the great frost here about our city. Unto which, upon my conference with some merchants my friends here in London, and upon view of letters from several factors out of other countries beyond the seas, I add this further report: that this frost hath not only continued in this extremity here in England; but all, or the greatest part of all, the kingdoms in Christendom have been pinched by the same. Amongst which those countries northward, as Russia, Moscovia, &c., which at these times of the year are commonly subject to sharp, bitter, and violent frosts, were now, this winter, more extremely and more extraordinarily afflicted than usually they have been in many

years before. So that the calamities that have fallen upon us by this cruelty of the weather are so much to be endured with the greater patience and with more thanksgiving to GOD; because His hand hath punished neighbours and other nations as heavily if not more severely than He hath us.

Amongst all the serious accidents that have happened here upon our Thames, I will now, father, quicken your hearing with one a little more merry. It was merry to the beholders and strange: but I believe he found no great mirth in it that was the person that performed it. But thus it was.

A citizen happened to venture with many others on the ice; but he, with a couple of dogs that followed him, walked up and down so long till he was, in a manner, alone from the rest of the company. You must understand that this was now towards the end of the frost; when it either began or was likely to thaw, so that the people were not so bold upon the ice, nor in such multitudes as they were before: but this citizen and his two dogs keeping, as I said, aloof from others; it fortuned that the flake of ice upon which he stood was in a moment sundered from the main body of the frozen Thames, like an arm of a tree cut from the body. So that he stood, or rather swam as he stood, upon a floating island. The poor man, perceiving that his ground failed under him, began to faint in his heart, repenting now that he was so venturous or so foolish as to leave firm ground where he was safe and to trust a floor that was so deceitful, was afraid to stir; and yet unless he did lustily stir for life, he was sure there was no way but one, and that was to be drowned. In this extremity and in this battle of comfort and despair, he had no means—albeit he was a fresh-water soldier—but to be constant in courage to himself and to try all paths how to get from this apparent danger. From place to place therefore doth he softly run, his two dogs following him close and leaping upon him: but his thoughts were more busied how to save himself than to regard them following. He never hated going a-hawking with his dogs till this time. Now the sport was loathsome; now was he weary of it. For in all his hunting with his hounds thus at his tail, he met one game that could make him weary: he jostled with other huge flakes of ice that encountered with that whereupon he stood; and gladly would have leaped upon some one of them,

but to have done so, had been to have slipped out of one peril into another. Nothing was before his eyes but water mingled with huge cakes of ice. On every side of him was danger and death.

Innumerable multitudes of people stood looking upon the shores; but none were so hardy as to set out to his rescue. Being therefore thus round beset with the horrors of so present a wreck, he fell down on his knees, uttering such cold prayers as in this fear a man could deliver. His dogs, not understanding their master's danger nor their own, and not knowing why he kneeled, leaped ever and anon at his head and shoulders: but his mind being now more on his dying day than on his sports, he continued praying, till the flake of ice on which he kneeled was driven to the very Bridge. Which he perceiving, started up, and with a happy nimbleness leaped upon one of the arches; his dogs leaping after as nimbly as the master: whilst the cake of ice passed away from him, and between the two arches was shivered all to little pieces. And thus did he escape.

Coun. It was a miraculous deliverance.

Cit. Other abuses are there daily among the worser ranks of people, put one upon another; which being but idle, ridiculous, and not worth rehearsing, I willingly am glad not to remember; but only to content your longing, good old father, have I set thus much of our golden lottery before you.

Coun. Sir, you bind me more and more to you for these kindnesses to me being a stranger and a person of so homely an outside from a citizen so grave as yourself seem to be. I will ever rest abundantly thankful.

FINIS.

LONDON.

Printed for Henry

Gosson, *and are to be sold at*

his shop at London-Bridge.

1608.

THE

Secrets of Angling:

TEACHING,

The choicest Tools, Baits and Seasons, for the taking of any Fish in Pond or River: practised and familiarly opened in three Books.

By I. D. *Esquire.*

Printed at London, for *Roger Jackson*, and are to be sold at his shop near Fleet Street conduit, 1613.

J. D. Esquire.

The Secrets of Angling.

With the exception of J. D.'s verses, who is the laureate of the craft, angling, as practised in England, sadly wants a sacred bard. Why does no fisherman *hamis et reti potens*, as familiar with all the finny tribes as was GLAUCUS of old after tasting grass, cut himself a reed from the margin of his loved trout stream, and pipe a strain worthy of the subject?—*Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1875, p. 358.

UR attention was drawn to this tract by the charming article on the literature and mysteries of *Trout and Trout Fishing*, from which we have made the above quotation. The original edition of 1613 is of extraordinary rarity. Only two copies are known. One of these is in the Bodleian; the other in the superb collection of Mr. HENRY HUTH, who kindly lent it for the present reproduction.

In addition to the original impression, we have given at pages 191–198 all the additional Note and Comment which WILLIAM LAUSON added to the second impression of 1653.

ISAAK WALTON quotes from this poetical work in his *Compleat Angler* first published in 1653, assigning by a marginal note, the authorship to J. DA.; but the following entry in the *Stationers' Registers* definitely fixes the name of the Writer, who was apparently a Somersetshire man.

Master ROGER JACKSON. Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]ands of Master MASON and Warden HOOPER A booke called *The secretes of Angling teaching the Choysest tools bates and seasons for the taking of any fish in pond or River practised and opened in three bookes* by JOHN DENNYS Esquier ... ... **vjd.**

As it appears from the Publisher's Epistle at p. 143 that the work appeared posthumously, the date of its composition can but approximately be fixed as "Before 1613."

We think that to not a few Anglers, the poem will prove a very pleasant surprise; and we imagine that this is the second printed book in our Literature specially devoted to stream fishing with the rod; JULIANA BARNES' treatise of *Fysshynge with an angle* at the end of the 1496 edition of her book of *The manere of hawkynge and huntynge &c.*, being the first.

Though the tract has several times been reprinted; lastly in 1811: we feel sure we are but expressing the feeling of all Anglers in thanking Mr. HUTH for his generous assistance in making it now perpetually accessible to all lovers of the gentle craft.

TO THE WORTHY, AND MY MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND,

Master JOHN HARBORNE of Tackley in the County of Oxford, Esquire.

WORTHY SIR,

THIS POEM being sent unto me to be printed after the death of the author; who intended to have done it in his life; but was prevented by death: I could not among my good friends, bethink me of any one to whom I might more fitly dedicate it—as well for the nature of the subject in which you delight, as to express my love—than to yourself.

I find it not only savouring of Art and Honesty, two things now strangers unto many authors, but also both pleasant and profitable; and being loth to see a thing of such value lie hidden in obscurity, whilst matters of no moment pester the stalls of every stationer, I therefore make bold to publish it for the benefit and delight of all, trusting that I shall neither thereby disparage the author, nor dislike them.

I need not, I think, apologize for either the use of the subject or for that it is reduced into the nature of a poem: for as touching the last, in that it is in verse, some count it by so much the

more delightful; and I hold it every way as fit a subject for poetry as Husbandry. And touching the first, if Hunting and Hawking have been thought worthy delights and arts to be instructed in, I make not doubt but that this art of Angling is much more worthy practice and approbation: for it is a sport every way as pleasant, less chargeable, more profitable, and nothing so much subject to choler or impatience as those are. You shall find it more briefly, pleasantly, and more exactly performed than any of this kind heretofore. Therefore I refer you to the perusing thereof; and myself to your good opinion, which I tender as that I hold most dear.

Ever remaining at

Your gentle command,

R. I. [*i. e.*, ROGER JACKSON.]

In due praise of this praiseworthy Skill and Work.

IN skills that all do seek, but few do find
Both gain and game; (like Sun and Moon, do shine)
Then th'Art of Fishing thus is of that kind;
The Angler taketh both with hook and line,
And as with lines, both these he takes; this takes,
With many a line well made, both ears and hearts;
And by this skill, the skilless skilful makes:
The corps whereof dissected so he parts;
Upon an humble subject never lay
More proud, yet plainer lines, the plain to lead,
This plainer Art with pleasure to survey,
To purchase it with profit by that deed:
Who think this skill's too low, then for the high
This *Angler* read and they'll be ta'en thereby.

IO[HN] DAVIES.

THE CONTENTS.

THE FIRST BOOK CONTAINETH THESE THREE HEADS.

1 *HE antiquity of Angling, with the Art of Fishing, and of Fish in general.*

2 *The lawfulness, pleasure and profit thereof; with all objections against it answered.*

3 *To know the season and times how to provide the tools, and how to choose the best, and the manner how to make them fit to take each several fish.*

THE SECOND BOOK CONTAINETH

1 *HE Angler's experience, how to use his tools and baits, to make profit by his game.*

2 *What fish are not taken with angle, and what are; and which are best for health.*

3 *In what waters and rivers to find each fish.*

THE THIRD BOOK CONTAINETH

1 *HE twelve virtues and qualities which ought to be in every Angler.*

2 *What weather, seasons and times of the year are best and worst; and what hours of the day are best for sport.*

3 *To know each fish's haunt, and the times to take them.*

Also, an obscure secret of an approved bait tending thereunto.

THE SECRETS *of Angling.*

The First Book.

OF ANGLING and the Art thereof I sing,
What kind of tools it doth behove to have;
And with what pleasing bait a man may bring
The fish to bite within the wat'ry wave.
A work of thanks to such as in a thing
Of harmless pleasure, have regard to save
Their dearest souls from sin; and may intend
Of precious time, some part thereon to spend.

You Nymphs that in the springs and waters sweet,
Your dwelling have, of every hill and dale;
And oft amidst the meadows green do meet
To sport and play, and hear the nightingale;
And in the rivers fresh, do wash your feet,
While PROGNE's sister tells her woeful tale:
Such aid and power unto my verses lend
As may suffice this little work to end.

And thou sweet Boyd * that with thy wat'ry sway
Dost wash the cliffs of Deington and of Week;
And through their rocks with crooked winding way
Thy mother Avon runnest soft to seek;
In whose fair streams the speckled trout doth play,
The roach, the dace, the gudgeon and the bleek:
Teach me the skill with slender line and hook
To take each fish of river, pond and brook.

* *The name of a brook.*

The Time for providing Angle Rods.

FIRST, WHEN the sun beginneth to decline
Southward his course, with his fair chariot bright;
And passèd hath of heaven the middle line
That makes of equal length both day and night;
And left behind his back the dreadful sign
Of cruel CENTAUR, slain in drunken fight;
When beasts do mourn and birds forsake their song,
And every creature thinks the night too long.

And blust'ring BOREAS with his chilling cold,
Unclothèd hath the trees of summer's green;
And woods and groves are naked to behold,
Of leaves and branches now despoilèd clean;

So that their fruitful stocks they do unfold,
And lay abroad their offspring to be seen:
Where Nature shows her great increase of kind
To such as seek their tender shoots to find.

Then go into some great Arcadian wood
Where store of ancient hazels do abound;
And seek amongst their springs and tender brood
Such shoots as are the straightest, long and round:
And of them all (store up what you think good)
But fairest choose, the smoothest and most sound;
So that they do not two years' growth exceed,
In shape and beauty like the Belgick reed.

These prune and cleanse of every leaf and spray,
Yet leave the tender top remaining still;
Then home with thee go bear them safe away,
But perish not the rine and utter pill; [*] [* *Rind and outer peel.*]
And on some even boarded floor them lay,
Where they may dry and season at their fill;
And place upon their crooked parts some weight
To press them down, and keep them plain and straight.

So shalt thou have always in store the best
And fittest rods to serve thy turn aright:
For not the brittle cane, nor all the rest,
I like so well, though it be long and light;
Since that the fish are frighted with the least
Aspect of any glittering thing, or white;
Nor doth it by one half so well incline
As doth the pliant rod, to save the line.

To make the Line.

HEN GET good hair, so that it be not black,
Neither of mare nor gelding let it be;
Nor of the tireling jade that bears the pack;
But of some lusty horse or courser free,
Whose bushy tail upon the ground doth track
Like blazing comet that sometimes we see:
From out the midst thereof the longest take
At leisure best your links and lines to make.

Then twist them finely as you think most meet,
By skill or practice easy to be found;
As doth ARACHNE with her slender feet,
Draw forth her little thread along the ground:
But not too hard or slack, the mean is sweet;
Lest slack, they snarl; or hard, they prove unsound:
And intermix with silver, silk or gold,
The tender hairs, the better so to hold.

Then end to end, as falleth to their lot,
Let all your links, in order as they lie,
Be knit together with that fisher's knot
That will not slip nor with the wet untie;
And at the lowest end forget it not
To leave a bout or compass like an eye,
The link that holds your hook to hang upon,
When you think good to take it off and on.

Which link must neither be so great nor strong,
Nor like of colour as the others were;
Scant half so big, so that it be as long,
Of greyest hue and of the soundest hair;

Lest whiles it hangs the liquid waves among
The sight thereof, the wary fish should fear:
And at one end a loop or compass fine,
To fasten to the other of your line.

Cork.

HEN TAKE good cork, so much as shall suffice,
For every line to make his swimmer fit;
And where the midst and thickest parts doth rise,
There burn a round small hole quite through it;
And put therein a quill of equal size,
But take good heed the cork you do not slit;
Then round or square with razor pare it near
Pyramidwise, or like a slender pear.

The smaller end doth serve to sink more light
Into the water with the plummet's sway;
The greater swims aloft and stands upright,
To keep the line and bait at even stay;
That when the fish begin to nib and bite,
The moving of the float doth them bewray:
These may you place upon your lines at will,
And stop them with a white and handsome quill.

Hooks.

HEN BUY your hooks the finest and the best
That may be had of such as use to sell,
And from the greatest to the very least
Of every sort pick out and choose them well;
Such as in shape and making pass the rest,
And do for strength and soundness most excel:
Then in a little box of driest wood
From rust and canker keep them fair and good.

That hook I love that is in compass round,
Like to the print that Pegasus did make
With hornèd hoof upon Thessalian ground;
From whence forthwith Parnassus' spring outbrake,
That doth in pleasant waters so abound,
And of the Muses oft the thirst doth slake;
Who on his fruitful banks do sit and sing,
That all the world of their sweet tunes doth ring.

Or as THAUMANTIS, when she list to shroud
Herself against the parching sunny ray,
Under the mantle of some stormy cloud
Where she her sundry colours doth display;
Like JUNO's bird: of her fair garments proud,
That PHŒBUS gave her on her marriage day,
Shows forth her goodly circle far and wide
To mortal wights that wonder at her pride.

His shank should neither be too short nor long;
His point not over sharp nor yet too dull;
The substance good that may endure from wrong:
His needle slender, yet both round and full,
Made of the right Iberian metal strong
That will not stretch nor break at every pull;
Wrought smooth and clean without one crack or knot,
And bearded like the wild Arabian goat.

Then let your hook be sure and strongly plaste
Unto your lowest link, with silk or hair;
Which you may do with often overcast
So that you draw the bouts together near:
And with both ends make all the other fast,
That no bare place or rising knot appear;
Then on that link hang leads of even weight,
To raise your float and carry down your bait.

Thus have your rod, line, float and hook;
The rod to strike, when you shall think it fit;
The line to lead the fish with wary skill;
The float and quill to warn you of the bit;
The hook to hold him by the chap or gill:
Hook, line and rod all guided to your wit.
Yet there remain of fishing tools to tell
Some other sorts that you must have as well.

Other Fishing Tools.

A LITTLE board, the lightest you can find,
But not so thin that it will break or bend;
Of cypress sweet or of some other kind,
That like a trencher shall itself extend;
Made smooth and plain, your lines thereon to wind,
With battlements at every other end;
Like to the bulwark of some ancient town
As well-walled Silchester, now razed down.

A shoe to bear the crawling worms therein,
With hole above to hang it by your side.
A hollow cane that must be light and thin,
Wherein the "Bobb" and "Palmer" shall abide;
Which must be stoppèd with an handsome pin
Lest out again your baits do hap to slide.
A little box that covered close shall lie,
To keep therein the busy wingèd fly.

Then must you have a plummet formèd round
Like to the pellet of a birding bow;
Wherewith you may the secret'st waters sound,
And set your float thereafter high or low

Till you the depth thereof have truly found;
And on the same a twisted thread bestow
At your own will, to hang it on your hook,
And so to let it down into the brook.

Of lead likewise, yet must you have a ring,
Whose whole diameter in length contains
Three inches full, and fastened to a string
That must be long and sure, if need constrains;
Through whose round hole you shall your Angle bring,
And let it fall into the wat'ry plain
Until he come the weeds and sticks unto;
From whence your hook it serveth to undo.

Have tools good store to serve your turn withal,
Lest that you happen some to lose or break;
As in great waters oft it doth befall
When that the hook is naught or line too weak:
And waxèd thread, or silk, so it be small,
To set them on, that if you list to wreak
Your former loss, you may supply the place;
And not return with sorrow and disgrace.

Have twist likewise, so that it be not white,
Your rod to mend, or broken top to tie;
For all white colours do the fishes fright
And make them from the bait away to fly:
A file to mend your hooks, both small and light;
A good sharp knife, your girdle hanging by;
A pouch with many parts and purses thin,
To carry all your tools and trinkets in.

Yet must you have a little rip beside
Of willow twigs, the finest you can wish;
Which shall be made so handsome and so wide
As may contain good store of sundry fish;
And yet with ease be hangèd by your side,
To bring them home the better to your dish.
A little net that on a pole shall stand,
The mighty pike or heavy carp to land.

His several Tools and what Garment is fittest.

ND LET your garments russet be or gray
Of colour dark and hardest to descry,
That with the rain or weather will away
And least offend the fearful fish's eye:
For neither scarlet nor rich cloth of 'ray
Nor colours dipt in fresh Assyrian dye,
Nor tender silks of purple, paul or gold
Will serve so well to keep off wet or cold.

In this array the Angler good shall go
Unto the brook to find his wishèd game;
Like old MENALCUS wandring to and fro
Until he chance to light upon the same;
And here his art and cunning shall bestow
For every fish his bait so well to frame.
That long ere PHŒBUS set in western foam
He shall return well laden to his home.

Objection.

OME YOUTHFUL gallant here perhaps will say
"This is no pastime for a gentleman.
It were more fit at cards and dice to play,
To use both fence and dancing now and then,

Or walk the streets in nice and strange array,
Or with coy phrases court his mistress' fan;
A poor delight with toil and painful watch
With loss of time a silly fish to catch!"

"What pleasure can it be to walk about
The fields and meads in heat or pinching cold;
And stand all day to catch a silly trout
That is not worth a tester to be sold?
And peradventure sometimes go without,
Besides the toils and troubles manifold?
And to be washt with many a shower of rain
Before he can return from thence again?"

"More ease it were, and more delight I trow
In some sweet house to pass the time away
Among the best, with brave and gallant show;
And with fair dames to dance, to sport and play;
And on the board, the nimble dice to throw
That brings in gain, and helps the shot to pay;
And with good wine and store of dainty fare
To feed at will and take but little care."

The Answer.

MEAN NOT here men's errors to reprove,
Nor do envy their seeming happy state;
But rather marvel why they do not love
An honest sport that is without debate;
Since their abusèd pastimes often move
Their minds to anger and to mortal hate;
And as in bad delights their time they spend,
So oft it brings them to no better end.

Indeed it is a life of lesser pain
To sit at play from noon till it be night;
And then from night till it be noon again;
With damnèd oaths, pronouncèd in despite,
For little cause and every trifling vein:
To curse, to brawl, to quarrel and to fight;
To pack the cards, and with some coz'ning trick,
His fellow's purse of all his coin to pick.

Or to beguile another of his wife,
As did ÆGISTUS, AGAMEMNON serve;
Or as that Roman * monarch led a life; *NERO.
To spoil and spend while others pine and starve;
And to compel their friends with foolish strife,
To take more drink than will their health preserve;
And to conclude, for debt or just desert
In baser tune to sing the "Counter" part.

O let me rather on the pleasant brink
Of Tyne and Trent possess some dwelling-place;
Where I may see my quill and cork down sink
With eager bite of barbel, bleek or dace:
And on the world and his Creator think,
While they, proud THAIS' paintèd sheet embrace;
And with the fume of strong tobacco's smoke,
All quaffing round, are ready for to choke.

Let them that list these pastimes then pursue
And on their pleasing fancies feed their fill;
So I the fields and meadows green may view,
And by the rivers fresh may walk at will
Among the daisies and the violets blue,
Red hyacinth and yellow daffodil,
Purple narcissus like the morning rays,
Pale ganderglass and azure culverkeys.

I count it better pleasure to behold
The goodly compass of the lofty sky;
And in the midst thereof like burning gold,
The flaming chariot of the world's great Eye;
The wat'ry clouds that in the air uprolled
With sundry kinds of painted colours fly;
And fair AURORA lifting up her head,
All blushing rise from old TITHONUS' bed.

The hills and mountains raisèd from the plains,
The plains extended level with the ground,
The ground divided into sundry veins,
The veins inclosed with running rivers round,
The rivers making way through Nature's chain,
With headlong course into the sea profound,
The surging sea beneath the valleys low,
The valleys sweet, and lakes that lovely flow.

The lofty woods, the forests wide and long,
Adorned with leaves and branches fresh and green;
In whose cool bowers the birds with chanting song
Do welcome with their quire, the Summer's Queen:
The meadows fair where FLORA'S gifts among,
Are intermixt the verdant grass between;
The silver-scalèd fish that softly swim
Within the brooks and crystal wat'ry brim.

All these and many more of His creation
That made the heavens, the Angler oft doth see;
And takes therein no little delectation
To think how strange and wonderful they be;
Framing thereof an inward contemplation
To set his thoughts from other fancies free.
And whiles he looks on these with joyful eye,
His mind is rapt above the starry sky.

The Author of Angling.

BUT HOW this Art of Angling did begin?
And who the use and practice found?
How many times and ages since have bin
Wherein the sun hath daily compast round
The circle that the signs twice six are in
And yielded yearly comfort to the ground?
It were too hard for me to bring about;
Since OVID wrote not all that story out.

Yet to content the willing reader's ear,
I will not spare the sad report to tell.
When good DEUCALION and his PYRRHA dear
Were only left upon the earth to dwell,
Of all the rest that overwhelmèd were
With that great flood, that in their days befell;
Wherein the compass of the world so round
Both man and beast with waters deep were drowned.

Between themselves they wept, and made great moan
How to repair again the woeful fall
Of all mankind, whereof they two alone
The remnant were; and wretchèd portion small:
But any means or hope in them was none,
That might restore so great a loss withal;
Since they were agèd, and in years so run,
That now almost their thread of life was spun.

Until at last they saw where as there stood
An ancient temple wastèd and forlorn,
Whose holy fires and sundry offerings good
The late outrageous waves away had borne;
But when at length down fallen was the flood,
The waters low, it proudly 'gan to scorn:
Unto that place they thought it best to go,
The counsel of the goddess there to know.

For long before that fearful deluge great,
The universal earth had overflown;
A heavenly power there placèd had her seat,
And answers gave of hidden things unknown.
Thither they went her favour to entreat
Whose fame throughout that coast abroad was blown;
By her advice some way or mean to find,
How to renew the race of human kind.

Prostrate they fell upon the sacred ground,
Kissing the stones and shedding many a tear;
And lowly bent their agèd bodies down
Unto the earth, with sad and heavy cheer;
Praying the saint with soft and doleful sound,
That she vouchsafe their humble suit to hear.
The goddess heard: and bade them go and take
Their mother's bones, and throw behind their back.

This oracle obscure and dark of sense,
Amazèd much their minds with fear and doubt,
What kind of meaning might be drawn from thence;
And how to understand and find it out.
How with so great a sin they might dispense
Their parent's bones to cast and throw about?
Thus when they had long time in study spent
Out of the church with careful thougnt they went.

And now beholding better every place,
Each hill and dale, each river, rock and tree;
And musing thereupon a little space,
They thought the Earth their mother well might be;
And that the stones that lay before their face
To be her bones did nothing disagree:
Wherefore to prove if it were false or true,
The scattered stones behind their backs they threw.

Forthwith the stones (a wondrous thing to hear)
Began to move as they had life conceived;
And waxèd greater than at first they were,
And more and more the shape of man received;
Till every part most plainly did appear
That neither eye nor sense could be deceived:
They heard, they spake, they went and walkèd too
As other living men are wont to do.

Thus was the earth replenishèd anew
With people strange, sprung up with little pain;
Of whose increase, the progeny that grew
Did soon supply the empty world again:
But now a greater care there did ensue
How such a mighty number to maintain;
Since food there was not any to be found,
For that great flood had all destroyed and drowned.

Then did DEUCALION first the Art invent
Of Angling, and his people taught the same;
And to the woods and groves with them he went
Fit tools to find for this most needful game.
There from the trees the longest rinds they rent,
Wherewith strong lines they roughly twist and frame,
And of each crook of hardest bush and brake,
They made them hooks the hungry fish to take.

And to entice them to the eager bit,
Dead frogs and flies of sundry sorts he took;
And snails and worms such as he found most fit
Wherein to hide the close and deadly hook;
And thus with practice and inventive wit,
He found the means in every lake and brook
Such store of fish to take with little pain
As did long time this people new, sustain.

In this rude sort began this simple Art
And so remained in that first age of old
When SATURN did AMALTHEA'S horn impart
Unto the world, that then was all of gold:
The fish as yet had felt but little smart
And were to bite more eager, apt and bold;
And plenty still supplied the place again
Of woeful want, whereof we now complain.

But when in time the fear and dread of man
Fell more and more on every living thing,
And all the creatures of the world began
To stand in awe of this usurping king;
Whose tyranny so far extended then
That earth and seas it did in thraldom bring:
It was a work of greater pain and skill,
The wary fish in lake or brook to kill.

So worse and worse two ages more did pass,
Yet still this Art more perfect daily grew:
For then the slender rod invented was,
Of finer sort than former ages knew:
And hooks were made of silver and of brass,
And lines of hemp and flax were framèd new;
And sundry baits experience found out more
Than elder times did know or try before.

But at the last the Iron Age drew near,
Of all the rest the hardest and most scant:
Then lines were made of silk and subtle hair;
And rods of lightest cane and hazel plant;
And hooks of hardest steel invented were,
That neither skill nor workmanship did want;
And so this Art did in the end attain
Unto that state where now it doth remain.

But here my weary Muse awhile must rest
That is not usèd to so long a way;
And breathe or pause a little at the least
At this land's end, until another day:
And then again, if so she think it best
Our taken-task afresh we will assay;
And forward go as first we did intend
Till that we come unto our journey's end.

The end of the First Book.

The Second Book.

BEFORE, I taught what kind of tools were fit
For him to have, that would an Angler be;
And how he should with practice and with wit
Provide himself thereof in best degree:
Now doth remain to show how to the bit
The fishes may be brought, that erst were free;
And with what pleasing baits enticed they are,
To swallow down the hidden hook un'ware.

Baits.

IT WERE not meet to send a huntsman out
Into the woods with net, with gin or hay;
To trace the brakes and bushes all about
The stag, the fox or badger to betray;
If having found his game, he stand in doubt
Which way to pitch, or where his snares to lay;
And with what train he may entice withal,
The fearful beast into his trap to fall.

So, though the Angler have good store of tools.
And them with skill in finest sort can frame;
Yet when he comes to rivers, lakes and pools,
If that he know not how to use the same,
And with what baits to make the fishes fools;
He may go home as wise as out he came,
  And of his coming boast himself as well
  As he that from his father's chariot fell.

Not that I take upon me to impart
More than by others hath before been told,
Or that the hidden secrets of this Art
I would unto the vulgar sort unfold;
Who peradventure for my pains' desert
Would count me worthy BALAAM's horse to hold:
  But only to the willing learner show
  So much thereof as may suffice to know.

But here, O NEPTUNE! that with triple mace
Dost rule the raging of the ocean wide;
I meddle not with thy deformèd race
Of monsters huge, that in those waves abide;
With that great whale, that by three whole days' space
The man of GOD did in his belly hide,
  And cast him out upon the Euxine shore
  As safe and sound as he had been before.

Nor with that Ork, that on Cephæan strand
Would have devoured ANDROMEDA the fair;
Whom PERSEUS slew with strong and valiant hand,
Delivering her from danger and despair:
The Hurlepool [? *whirlpool*] huge that higher than the land
Whole streams of water spouteth in the air;
  The porpoise large that playing swims on high
  Portending storms or other tempest nigh.

Nor that admirer of sweet music's sound
That on his back ARION bore away
And brought to shore out of the seas profound;
The hippotame that like an horse doth neigh,
The morse that from the rocks enrollèd round
Within his teeth himself doth safe convey;
The tortoise covered with his target hard,
The tuberon attended with his guard.

Nor with that fish that beareth in his snout
A ragged sword, his foes to spoil and kill;
Nor that fierce thrasher that doth fling about
His nimble flail and handles him at will;
The ravenous shark that with the sweepings out
And filth of ships doth oft his belly fill;
The albacore that followeth night and day
The flying fish, and takes them for his prey.

The crocodile that weeps when he doth wrong,
The halibut that hurts the appetite,
The turbot broad, the seal, the sturgeon strong,
The cod and cozze that greedy are to bite,
The hake, the haddock, and conger long,
The yellow ling, the milwell fair and white,
The spreading ray, the thornback thin and flat,
The boisterous base, the hoggish tunny fat.

These kinds of fish that are so large of size,
And many more that here I leave untold,
Shall go for me, and all the rest likewise
That are the flock of PROTEUS' wat'ry fold;
For well I think my hooks would not suffice,
Nor slender lines, the least of these to hold.
I leave them therefore to the surging seas:
In that huge depth, to wander at their ease.

And speak of such as in the fresh are found,
The little roach, the menise biting fast,
The slimy tench, the slender smelt and round,
The umber sweet, the grayling good of taste,
The wholesome ruff, the barbel not so sound,
The perch and pike that all the rest do waste,
The bream, the carp, the chub and chavender,
And many more that in fresh waters are.

Sit then THALIA on some pleasant bank,
Among so many as fair Avon hath!
And mark the anglers how they march in rank,
Some out of Bristol, some from healthful Bath;
How all the river's sides along they flank,
And through the meadows make their wontèd path:
See how their wit and cunning they apply
To catch the fish that in the waters lie!

For the Gudgeon.

LO IN a little boat where one doth stand,
That to a willow bough the while is tied;
And with a pole doth stir and raise the sand,
Where as the gentle stream doth softly slide:
And then with slender line and rod in hand,
The eager bite not long he doth abide.
Well leaded in his line, his hook but small,
A good big cork to bear the stream withal.

His bait the least red worm that may be found,
And at the bottom it doth always lie;
Whereat the greedy gudgeon bites so sound
That hook and all he swalloweth by and by.
See how he strikes, and pulls them up as round
As if new store the play did still supply!
And when the bite doth die or bad doth prove,
Then to another place he doth remove.

This fish the fittest for a learner is
That in this Art delights to take some pain;
For as high-flying hawks that often miss
The swifter fowls, are easèd with a train;
So to a young beginner yieldeth this,
Such ready sport as makes him prove again;
And leads him on with hope and glad desire,
To greater skill and cunning to aspire.

For the Roach.

HEN SEE on yonder side where one doth sit,
With line well twisted and his hook but small;
His cork not big, his plummets round and fit,
His paste of finest paste, a little ball;
Wherewith he doth entice unto the bit
The careless roach, that soon is caught withal:
Within a foot the same doth reach the ground,
And with least touch the float straight sinketh down.

And as a skilful fowler that doth use
The flying birds of any kind to take,
The fittest and the best doth always choose
Of many sorts a pleasing stale to make;
Which if he doth perceive they do refuse
And of mislike abandon and forsake,
To win their love again, and get their grace,
Forthwith doth put another in the place.

So for the roach more baits he hath beside;
As of a sheep, the thick congealed blood,
Which on a board he useth to divide
In portions small to make them fit and good,

That better on his hook they may abide;
And of the wasp the white and tender brood;
And worms that breed on every herb and tree;
And sundry flies that quick and lively be.

For the Dace.

HEN LOOK where as that poplar gray doth grow,
Hard by the same where one doth closely stand
And with the wind his hook and bait doth throw
Amid the stream with slender hazel wand,
Where as he sees the dace themselves do show.
His eye is quick and ready is his hand
And when the fish doth rise to catch the bait,
He presently doth strike, and takes her straight.

O world's deceit! how are we thralled by thee.
Thou dost thy gall in sweetest pleasures hide!
When most we think in happiest state to be,
Then do we soonest into danger slide.
Behold the fish, that even now was free,
Unto the deadly hook how he is tied!
So vain delights allure us to the snare,
Wherein un'wares we fast entangled are.

For the Carp.

UT NOW again see where another stands
And strains his rod that double seems to bend!
Lo how he leads and guides him with his hands
Lest that his line should break or angle rend;
Then with a net, see how at last he lands
A mighty carp, and has him in the end!
So large he is of body, scale and bone
That rod and all had like to have been gone.

Mark what a line he hath, well made and strong,
Of Bucephal or Bayard's strongest hair
Twisted with green or watchet silk among
Like hardest twine that holds th'entangled deer;
Not any force of fish will do it wrong
In Tyne or Trent or Thames he needs not fear:
The knots of every link are knit so sure
That many a pluck and pull they may endure.

His cork is large, made handsome smooth and fine,
The leads according, close, and fit thereto;
A good round hook set on with silken twine
That will not slip nor easily undo:
His bait great worms that long in moss have been,
Which by his side he beareth in a shoe;
Or paste wherewith he feeds him oft before,
That at the bottom lies a foot or more.

For the Chub and Trout.

EE WHERE another hides himself as sly
As did ACTÆON or the fearful deer,
Behind a withy, and with watchful eye
Attends the bite within the water clear,
And on the top thereof doth move his fly
With skilful hand, as if he living were,
Lo how the chub, the roach, the dace and trout,
To catch thereat do gaze and swim about.

His rod or cane, made dark for being seen
The less to fear the wary fish withal;
The line well twisted is, and wrought so clean
That being strong yet doth it show but small;

His hook not great, nor little, but between,
That light upon the wat'ry brim may fall;
The line in length scant half the rod exceeds,
And neither cork nor lead it needs.

For the Trout and Eel.

NOW SEE some standing where the stream doth fall
With headlong course behind the sturdy weir,
That overthwart the river like a wall,
The water stops, and strongly up doth bear;
And at the tails of mills and arches small,
Where as the shoot is swift and not too clear;
Their lines in length not twice above an ell,
But with good store of lead, and twisted well.

Round handsome hooks that will not break nor bend,
The big red worm well scourèd is their bait,
Which down unto the bottom doth descend,
Where as the trout and eel doth lie in wait,
And to their feeding busily intend;
Which when they see, they snatch and swallow straight.
Upon their lines are neither cork nor quill;
But when they feel them pluck, then strike they still.

For the Sewant and Flounder.

BEHOLD SOME others rangèd all along,
To take the sewant, yea, the flounder sweet;
That to the bank in deepest places throng
To shun the swifter stream that runs so fleet;
And lie and feed the brackish waves among,
Where as the waters fresh and salt do meet.
And there the eel and shad sometimes are caught,
That with the tide into the brooks are brought.

But by the way it shall not be amiss
To understand that in the waters gray,
Of floating fish, two sundry kinds there is;
The one that lives by raven and by prey,
And of the weaker sort, now that, now this,
He bites and spoils, and kills and bears away,
And in his greedy gullet doth devour;
As SCYLLA's gulf a ship within his power.

And these have wider mouths to catch and take
Their flying prey, whom swiftly they pursue;
And rows of teeth like to a saw or rake
Wherewith their gotten game they bite and chew;
And greater speed within the waters make
To set upon the other simple crew;
And as the greyhound steals upon the hare,
So do they use to rush on them un'ware.

Unequal fate! that some are born to be
Fearful and mild, and for the rest a prey;
And others are ordained to live more free
Without control or danger any way:
So doth the fox, the lamb destroy we see;
The lion fierce, the beaver roe or grey;
The hawk, the fowl; the greater wrong the less;
The lofty proud the lowly poor oppress.

For the Pike or Perch.

NOW FOR to take these kinds of fish withal, [23. p. 196.]
It shall be needful to have still in store
Some living baits, as bleeks and roaches small,
Gudgeon, or loach, not taken long before,

Or yellow frogs that in the waters crawl;
But all alive they must be evermore,
For as for baits that dead and dull do lie,
They least esteem, and set but little by.

But take good heed your line be sure and strong,
The knots well knit and of the soundest hair,
Twistèd with some well-coloured silk among;
And that you have no need your rod to fear:
For these great fish will strive and struggle long,
Rod line and all, into the stream to bear.
And that your hook be not too small and weak,
Lest that it chance to stretch or hap to break.

And as in Arden, or the mountains hoar
Of Appennine, or craggy Alps among;
The mastiffs fierce that hunt the bristled boar,
Are harnessed with curats light and strong;
So for these fish, your line a foot or more
Must armèd be with thinnest plate along;
Or slender wire well fasten'd thereunto,
That will not slip nor easily undo.

The other kind that are unlike to these,
Do live by corn or any other seed;
Sometimes by crumbs of bread, of paste or cheese;
Or grasshoppers that in green meadows breed;
With brood of wasps, of hornets, doars, or bees,
Lip berries from the briar bush or weed,
Blood worms and snails, or crawling gentles small,
And buzzing flies that on the waters fall.

All these are good, and many others more,
To make fit baits to take these kinds of fish;
So that some fair deep place you feed before
A day or two, with pail, with bowl, or dish;
And of these meats do use to throw in store:
Then shall you have them bite as you would wish;
And ready sport to take your pleasure still,
Of any sort that best you like to kill.

Thus serving them as often as you may,
But once a week at least it must be done;
If that to bite they make too long delay
As by your sport may be perceivèd soon:
Then some great fish doth fear the rest away,
Whose fellowship and company they shun;
Who neither in the bait doth take delight,
Nor yet will suffer them that would to bite.

For this you must a remedy provide;
Some roach or bleek, as I have showed before;
Beneath whose upper fin you close shall hide
Of all your hook the better half and more;
And though the point appear or may be spied
It makes not matter any whit therefore;
But let him fall into the wat'ry brim,
And down unto the bottom softly swim.

And when you see your cork begin to move,
And round about to soar and fetch a ring;
Sometimes to sink, and sometimes swim above,
As doth the duck within the wat'ry spring:
Yet make no haste your present hap to prove,
Till with your float at last away he fling;
Then may you safely strike and hold him short,
And at your will prolong or end your sport.

But every fish loves not each bait alike,
Although sometimes they feed upon the same;
But some do one, and some another seek,
As best unto their appetite doth frame;
The roach, the bream, the carp, the chub, and bleek,
With paste or corn their greedy hunger tame;
The dace, the ruff, the gudgeon and the rest,
The smaller sort of crawling worms love best.

The chavender and chub do more delight
To feed on tender cheese or cherries red;
Black snails, their bellies slit to show their white;
Or grasshoppers that skip in every mead:
The perch, the tench and eel do rather bite
At great red worms, in field or garden bred;
That have been scoured in moss or fennel rough,
To rid their filth, and make them hard and tough.

And with this bait hath often taken bin
The salmon fair, of river fish the best;
The shad that in the springtime cometh in;
The suant swift, that is not set by 'east;
The bocher sweet, the pleasant flounder thin;
The peel, the tweat, the botling, and the rest,
With many more, that in the deep doth lie
Of Avon, Usk, of Severn and of Wye.

Alike they bite, alike they pull down low
The sinking cork that strives to rise again;
And when they feel the sudden deadly blow,
Alike they shun the danger and the pain;
And as an arrow from the Scythian bow,
All flee alike into the stream amain;
Until the angler by his wary skill,
There tires them out, and brings them up at will.

Yet furthermore it doth behove to know
That for the most part fish do seek their food
Upon the ground, or deepest bottom low,
Or at the top of water, stream or flood;
And so you must your hook and bait bestow,
For in the midst you shall do little good:
For heavy things down to the bottom fall,
And light do swim, and seldom sink at all.

All summer long aloft the fishes swim,
Delightèd with fair PHŒBUS' shining ray,
And lie in wait within the waters dim
For flies and gnats that on the top do play;
Then half a yard beneath the upper brim,
It shall be best your baitèd hook to lay,
With gnat or fly of any sort or kind,
That every month on leaves or trees you find.

But then your line must have no lead at all,
And but a slender cork or little quill
To stay the bait that down it does not fall,
But hang a link within the water still;
Or else upon the top thereof you shall
With quicker hand and with more ready skill
Let fall your fly, and now and then remove,
Which soon the fish will find and better love.

And in the stream likewise they use to be
At tails of floodgates, or at arches wide;
Or shallow flats where as the waters free
With fresher springs and swifter course do slide:
And then of wasp the brood that cannot fly,
Upon a tile-stone first a little dried;
Or yellow "bobs" turned up before the plough
Are chiefest baits; with cork and lead enough.

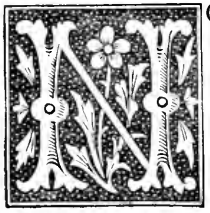
But when the golden chariot of the sun,
Departing from our northern countries far
Beyond the Balance, now his course hath run
And goes to warm the cold Antarctic star;
And summer's heat is almost spent and done:
With new approach of winter's dreadful war;
Then do the fish withdraw into the deep,
And low from sight and cold more close do keep.

Then on your lines you may have store of lead
And bigger corks of any size you will,
And where the fish are usèd to be fed
There shall you lay upon the bottom still:
And whether that your bait be corn or bread
Or worms or paste, it doth not greatly skill;
For these alone are to be usèd then
Until the spring or summer come again.

Thus have I showed how fish of divers kind
Best taken are, and how their baits to know:
But PHŒBUS now beyond the western Ind,
Beginneth to descend and draweth low;
And well the weather serves, and gentle wind.
Down with the tide and pleasant stream to row
Unto some place where we may rest us in,
Until we shall another time begin.

The end of the Second Book.

The Third Book.



OW FALLS it out in order to declare
What time is best to angle in aright;
And when the chief and fittest seasons are
Wherein the fish are most disposed to bite;
What wind doth make, and which again doth mar
The Angler's sport wherein he takes delight;
And how he may with pleasure best aspire
Unto the wishèd end of his desire.

For there are times in which they will not bite,
But do forbear, and from their food refrain;
And days there are wherein they more delight
To labour for the same and bite amain:
So he that can those seasons find aright
Shall not repent his travail spent in vain,
To walk a mile or two amidst the fields
Reaping the fruit this harmless pleasure yields.

And as a ship in safe and quiet road
Under some hill or harbour doth abide,
With all her freight, her tackling and her load,
Attending still the wind and wishèd tide;
Which when it serves, no longer makes abode,
But forth into the wat'ry deep doth slide,
And through the waves divides her fairest way
Unto the place where she intends to stay.

So must the Angler be provided still
Of divers tools and sundry baits in store,
And all things else pertaining to his skill
Which he shall get and lay up long before;
That when the weather frameth to his will
He may be well appointed evermore
To take fit time when it is offered ever:
For time in one estate abideth never.

The Qualities of an Angler.

BUT ERE I further go, it shall behove
To show what gifts and qualities of mind
Belong to him that doth the pastime love;
And what the virtues are of every kind
Without the which it were in vain to prove
Or to expect the pleasure he should find:
No more than he that having store of meat
Hath lost all lust and appetite to eat.

For what avails to brook or lake to go,
With handsome rods and hooks of divers sort,
Well-twisted lines, and many trinkets moe
To find the fish within their wat'ry fort:
If that the mind be not contented so
But wants those gifts, that should the rest support.
And make his pleasure to his thoughts agree.
With these therefore he must endued be.

The first is Faith, not wavering and unstable;
But such as had that holy patriarch old,
That to the Highest was so acceptable
As his increase and offspring manifold,
Exceeded far the stars innumerable:
So must he still a firm persuasion hold,
That where as waters, brooks and lakes are found,
There store of fish without all doubt abound.

For Nature, that hath made no empty thing,
But all her works doth well and wisely frame;
Hath filled each brook, each river, lake and spring
With creatures, apt to live amidst the same;
Even as the earth, the air and seas do bring
Forth beasts and birds of sundry sort and name,
And given them shape, ability and sense
To live and dwell therein without offence.

The second gift and quality is Hope,
The anchor hold of every hard desire;
That having of the day so large a scope
He shall in time to wishèd hap aspire,
And ere the sun hath left the heav'nly cope
Obtain the sport and game he doth desire;
And that the fish, though sometimes slow to bite,
Will recompense delay with more delight.

The third is Love and liking to the game,
And to his friend and neighbour dwelling by;
For greedy pleasure not to spoil the same,
Nor of his fish some portion to deny
To any that are sickly, weak or lame;
But rather with his line and angle try
In pond or brook, to do what in him lies
To take such store for them as may suffice.

Then followeth Patience, that the furious flame
Of Choler cools, and Passion puts to flight;
As doth a skilful rider break and tame
The courser wild, and teach him tread aright:
So patience doth the mind dispose and frame
To take mishaps in worth and count them light;
As loss of fish, line, hook or lead, or all,
Or other chance that often may befall.

The fifth good gift is low Humility;
As when a lion coucheth for his prey,
So must he stoop or kneel upon his knee
To save his line or put the weeds away;
Or lie along sometimes if need there be
For any let or chance that happen may:
And not to scorn to take a little pain
To serve his turn, his pleasure to obtain.

The sixth is painful Strength and Courage good,
The greatest to encounter in the brook,
If that he happen in his angry mood
To snatch your bait and bear away your hook.
With wary skill to rule him in the flood
Until more quiet, tame and mild he look:
And all adventures constantly to bear,
That may betide, without mistrust or fear.

Next unto this is Liberality,
Feeding them oft with full and plenteous hand
Of all the rest a needful quality
To draw them near the place where you will stand
Like to the ancient hospitality,
That sometime dwelt in Albion's fertile land;
But now is sent away into exile
Beyond the bounds of Isabella's isle.

The eighth is Knowledge, how to find the way
To make them bite when they are dull and slow;
And what doth let the same and breeds delay;
And every like impediment to know,
That keeps them from their food and wonted prey
Within the stream or standing waters low;
  And with Experience skilfully to prove,
  All other faults to mend or to remove.

The ninth is Placability of mind,
Contentèd with a reasonable dish;
Yea though sometimes no sport at all he find
Or that the weather prove not to his wish.
The tenth is Thanks to that GOD, of each kind,
To net and bait, doth send both fowl and fish;
  And still reserve enough in secret store
  To please the rich and to relieve the poor.

Th'eleventh good gift and hardest to endure,
Is Fasting long from all superfluous fare;
Unto the which he must himself inure
By exercise and use of diet spare:
And with the liquor of the waters pure
Acquaint himself if he cannot forbear;
  And never on his greedy belly think,
  From rising sun until alow he sink.

The twelfth and last of all is Memory,
Remembering well before he setteth out,
Each needful thing that he must occupy;
And not to stand of any want in doubt
Or leave something behind forgetfully:
When he hath walked the fields and brooks about,
  It were a griet back to return again,
  For things forgot that should his sport maintain.

Here then you see what kind of qualities
An Angler should enduèd be withal;
Besides his skill and other properties
To serve his turn, as to his lot doth fall:
But now what season for this exercise
The fittest is, and which doth serve but small:
My Muse! vouchsafe some little aid to lend
To bring this also to the wishèd end.

Season and Time not to Angle.

IRST, IF the weather be too dry and hot,
And scalds with scorching heat the lowly plain;
As if that youthful PHAETON had got
The guiding of his father's car again;
Or that it seemed APOLLO had forgot
His light-foot steeds to rule with steadfast rain:
It is not good with any line or hook,
To angle then in river, pond or brook.

Or when cold BOREAS with his frosty beard,
Looks out from underneath the "lesser bear;"
And makes the weary traveller afeard
To see the valleys covered everywhere
With ice and snow, that late so green appeared:
The waters stand as if of steel they were;
And hoary frosts do hang on every bough,
Where freshest leaves of summer late did grow.

So neither if Don ÆOLUS lets go
His blust'ring winds out of the hollow deep;
Where he their strife and struggling to and fro,
With triple fork doth still in order keep:
They rushing forth do rage with tempests so
As if they would the world together sweep;
And ruffling so with sturdy blasts they blow,
That tree and house sometimes they overthrow.

Besides, when shepherds and the swains prepare,
Unto the brooks withal, their flocks of sheep;
To wash their fleeces, and to make them fair
In every pool and running water deep:
The savour of the wool doth so impair
The pleasant streams, and plunging that they keep,
As if that Lethe-flood ran everywhere
Or bitter Doris intermingled were.

Or when land floods through long and sudden rain,
Descending from the hills and higher ground,
The sand and mud the crystal streams do stain,
And make them rise above their wonted bound,
To overflow the fields and neighbour plain:
The fruitful soil and meadows fair are drowned;
The husbandman doth leese his grass and hay;
The banks, their trees; and bridges borne away.

So when the leaves begin to fall apace
And bough and branch are naked to be seen;
While Nature doth her former work deface,
Unclothing bush and tree of summer's green;
Whose scattered spoils lie thick in every place
As sands on shore or stars the poles between,
And top and bottom of the rivers fill:
To Angle then I also think it ill.

All winds are hurtful, if too hard they blow:
The worst of all is that out of the East,
Whose nature makes the fish to biting slow
And lets the pastime most of all the rest;
The next that comes from countries clad with snow
And Arctic pole, is not offensive least;
The Southern wind is counted best of all;
Then that which riseth where the sun doth fall.

Best Times and Season to Angle.

BUT IF the weather steadfast be and clear,
Or overcast with clouds, so it be dry;
And that no sign nor token there appear
Of threat'ning storm through all the empty sky;
But that the air is calm and void of fear
Of ruffling winds or raging tempests high;
Or that with mild and gentle gale they blow;
Then it is good unto the brook to go.

And when the floods are fall'n and past away,
And carried have the dregs into the deep;
And that the waters wax more thin and grey
And leave their banks above them high and steep;
The milder stream of colour like to whey
Within his bounds his wontèd course doth keep;
And that the wind South or else by-West:
To angle then is time and seasons best.

When fair AURORA rising early shows
Her blushing face among the Eastern hills,
And dyes the heavenly vault with purple rows
That far abroad the world with brightness fills;
The meadows green are hoar with silver dews
That on the earth the sable night distils,
And chanting birds with merry notes bewray
The near approaching of the cheerful day:

Then let him go to river, brook or lake,
That loves the sport, where store of fish abound;
And through the pleasant fields his journey make,
Amidst sweet pastures, meadows fresh and sound;

Where he may best his choice of pastime take,
While swift HYPERION runs his circle round:
And as the place shall to his liking prove,
There still remain or further else remove.

To know each Fish's Haunt.

NOW THAT the Angler may the better know
Where he may find each fish he doth require;
Since some delight in waters still and slow,
And some do love the mud and slimy mire;
Some others where the stream doth swifter flow;
Some stony ground, and gravel some desire:
Here shall he learn how every sort do seek
To haunt the lair that doth his nature like.

Carp, eel and tench do love a muddy ground;
Eels under stones or hollow roots do lie,
The tench among thick weeds is soonest found,
The fearful carp into the deep doth fly:
Bream, chub and pike, where clay and sand abound,
Pike love great pools and places full of fry,
The chub delight in stream or shady tree,
And tender bream in broadest lake to be.

The salmon swift the rivers sweet doth like,
Where largest streams into the sea are led;
The spotted trout, the smaller brooks doth seek,
And in the deepest hole there hides his head;
The prickled perch, in every hollow creek
Hard by the bank and sandy shore is fed:
Perch, trout and salmon love clear waters all,
Green weedy rocks and stony gravel small.

So doth the bullhead, gudgeon and the loach,
Who most in shallow brooks delight to be:
The ruff, the dace, the barbel and the roach,
Gravel and sand do love in less degree;
But to the deep and shade do more approach,
And overhead some covert love to see,
Of spreading poplar, oak or willow green,
Where underneath they lurk for being seen.

The mighty luce great waters haunts alway,
And in the stillest place thereof doth lie,
Save when he rangeth forth to seek his prey,
And swift among the fearful fish doth fly.
The dainty umber loves the marly clay
And clearest streams of champaign country high;
And in the chiefest pools thereof doth rest,
Where he is soonest found and taken best.

The chavender amidst the waters fair,
The swiftest streams doth most himself bestow:
The shad and tweat do rather like the lair
Of brackish waves, where it doth ebb and flow;
And thither also doth the flock repair,
And flat upon the bottom lieth low,
The peel, the mullet and the suant good
Do like the same, and therein seek their food.

But here experience doth my skill exceed,
Since divers countries divers rivers have;
And divers rivers change of waters breed,
And change of waters sundry fish doth crave,
And sundry fish in divers places feed,
As best doth like them in the liquid wave.
So that by use and practice may be known
More than by art or skill can well be shown.

So then it shall be needless to declare
What sundry kinds there lie in secret store;
And where they do resort and what they are,
That may be still discovered more and more.
Let him that list, no pain or travail spare
To seek them out, as I have done before;
And then it shall not discontent his mind,
New choice of place, and change of game to find.

The best Hours of the Day to Angle

ROM FIRST appearing of the rising sun
Till nine of clock, low under water best,
The fish will bite; and then from nine to noon,
From noon to four they do refrain and rest:
From four again till PHŒBUS swift hath run
His daily course, and setteth in the West.
But at the fly aloft they use to bite,
All summer long, from nine till it be night.

Now lest the Angler leave his tools behind,
For lack of heed or haste of his desire;
And so enforcèd with unwilling mind
Must leave his game and back again retire,
Such things to fetch as there he cannot find,
To serve his turn when need shall most require:
Here shall he have to help his memory,
A lesson short of every want's supply.

Light rod to strike, long line to reach withal,
Strong hook to hold the fish he haps to hit,
Spare lines and hooks whatever chance do fall,
Baits quick and dead to bring them to the bit,

Fine lead and quills, with corks both great and small,
Knife, file and thread, and little basket fit,
Plummets to sound the depth of clay and sand,
With pole and net to bring them safe to land.

And now we are arrivèd at the last
In wishèd harbour, where we mean to rest,
And make an end of this our journey past:
Here then in quiet road I think it best
We strike our sails and steadfast anchor cast,
For now the sun low setteth in the West.
And ye boatswains! a merry carol sing
To Him that safely did us hither bring.

FINIS.

Wouldst thou catch fish?
Then here's thy wish;
Take this receipt
To anoint thy bait.

THOU THAT desir'st to fish with line and hook,
Be it in pool, in river, or in brook,
To bless thy bait and make the fish to bite,
Lo, here's a means! if thou canst hit it right:
Take gum of life, fine beat, and laid in soak
In oil well drawn from that which kills the oak.
Fish where thou wilt, thou shalt have sport thy fill;
When twenty fail, thou shalt be sure to kill.

Probatum.

It's perfect and good,
If well understood;
Else not to be told
For silver or gold.

B. R.

FINIS.

WILLIAM LAUSON.

Comments on *The Secrets of Angling.*

[Second Edition, *Augmented with many approved experiments.*]

To the Reader.

IT may seem in me presumption to add this little Comment to the work of so worthy an Author.

But Master HARRISON the Stationer's request and desire to give his country satisfaction; must be satisfied, and in it I myself rest excused.

What mine observations are, I refer to censure. Assuredly, the truth stands on so well-grounded experience; that but my haste, nothing can do them injury. What to me is doubtful; I have, as I can, explained. What wants, in my judgment, I have supplied as the time would suffer; what I pass by, I approve.

The Author by verse hath expressed much Learning, and by his Answer to the Objection shows himself to have been virtuous. The subject itself is honest and pleasant; and sometimes profitable.

Use it! and give GOD all glory. Amen.

W. LAUSON.

1 [p. 149]. Beath [*bathe*] them a little, except the top, all in a furnace: they will be lighter and not top heavy; which is a great fault in a rod.

2 [p. 149]. Tie them together at every bout, and they will keep one another straight.

3 [p. 149]. White or gray are likest the sky, and therefore of all colours offend the least.

4 [p. 149]. Besides the fish discerns it, and is put away with the stiffness of the rod: whereas on the contrary the weak rod yields liberty to the fish without suspicion, to run away with the bait at his pleasure.

5 [p. 150]. Knit the hair you mean to put in one link at the rod's end, and divide them as equally as you can: put your three lowest fingers betwixt, and twine the knot; and your link shall be equally twist. If you wet your hair, it will twine better. A nimble hand, a weak and light rod that may be easily guided with one hand, needs but four or five hairs at the most for the greatest river fish, though a salmon or a luce, so you have length enough: and except the luce and salmon, three will suffice.

6 [p. 150]. Intermixing with silver or gold is not good: because: First, the thread and hair are not of equal reach. Secondly, the colours differing from the hairs or fly, affright the fish. Thirdly, they will not be[n]d and twist with the hairs.

7 [p. 150]. An upper end also, to put it to and fro the rod.

8 [p. 150]. The same colour, to wit, grey like the sky; the like bigness and strength: is good for all the line, and every link thereof. Weight is hurtful; so unequal strength causeth the weakest to break.

9 [p. 151]. I utterly dislike your Southern corks. First, for they affright the fish in the bite and sight; and because they follow not so kindly the nimble rod and hand. Secondly, they breed weight to the line; which puts it in danger, hinders the nimble jerk of the rod, and loads the arm. A good eye and hand may easily discern the bite.

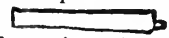
10 [p. 151]. I use [*am accustomed*] to make mine own hooks; so that I shall have them of the best Spanish and Milan needles of what size, bent or sharpness as I like and need. Soften your needles in an hot fire, in a chafer.

The Instruments.

First. An holdfast.

Secondly. A hammer to flatten the place or the beard.

Thirdly. A file to make the beard, and sharpen the point.

Fourthly. A bender, viz. a pin bended, and put in the end of a stick, an handful long, thus. 

When they are made, lap them in the end of a wire; beat them again, and temper them in oil or butter.

11 [p. 152]. The best form for ready striking and sure holding and strength, is a straight and somewhat long shank and straight nibbed; with a little compass: not round in any wise, for it neither strikes surely nor readily; but is weak, as having too great a compass. Some use to batter the upper end thus to hold the faster: but good thread or silk, good baud [*? band*] may make it fast enough. It is botcherly, hinders the biting, and sometimes cuts the line.

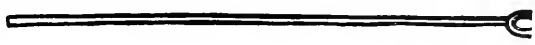
12 [p. 152]. He means the hook may be too weak at the point. It cannot be too sharp, if the metal be good steel.

13 [p. 153]. Or wind them on two or three of your fingers, like an Orph-Arion's string.

14 [p. 153]. Worm poke of cloth, or boxes.

15 [p. 153]. A plummet you need not; for your line being well leaded and without a float, will try your depths. When the lead above your hook comes to the earth, the line will leave sinking.

16 [p. 154]. That is good: but a forked rod about two yards long is better. When your hook is fastened in the water, take a rod thus fashioned



and put the line in the fork, and so follow down to your hook. So letting your line be somewhat slack, move your fork to and fro, especially downwards; and so shall your hook be loosed.

17 [p. 154]. White and grey are good, answering to the colours of the sky.

18 [p. 167]. The Gudgeon hath his teeth in his throat (as

also the Chub) and lives by much sucking. He is a dainty fish, like or nearly as good as the Sparling.

19 [p. 168]. The Roach is one of the meanest.

20 [p. 170]. Diversely. For the Trout is a ravening fish, and at that time of the day comes from his hole, if he come at all.

21 [p. 171]. The Trout makes the Angler the most gentlemanly and readiest sport of all other fishes: if you angle with a made fly, and a line twice your rod's length or more, of three hairs, in a plain water without wood, in a dark windy day from mid-afternoon, and have learned the cast of the fly.

Your fly must counterfeit the May Fly, which is bred of the cad bait; and is called the Water Fly. You must change his colour every month; beginning with a dark white and so grow to a yellow. The form cannot so well be put on a paper, as it may be taught by slight [? *sight*]: yet it will be like this form.

The head is of black silk or hair; the wings of a feather of a mallard, teal, or pickled hen's wing; the body of crewel, according to the month for colour, and run about with a black hair: all fastened at the tail with the thread that fastened the hook. You must fish in or by the stream, and have a quick hand, a ready eye and a nimble rod. Strike with him! or you lose him.

If the wind be rough, and trouble the crust of the water: he will take it in the plain deeps: and then and there commonly the greatest will rise. When you have hooked him, give him leave! keeping your line straight. Hold him from the roots, and he will tire himself. This is the chief pleasure of Angling.

This fly, and two links, among wood or close by a bush, moved in the crust of the water; is deadly in an evening, if you come close [*hidden*]. This is called "Busking for Trout."

Cad bait is a worm bred under stones in a shallow river: or in some out-runner of the river, where the streams run not strongly, in a black shale. They stick by heaps on the low side of a great stone, it being hollow. They be ripe in

the beginning of May: they are past with July. They be yellow when they be ripe, and have a black head. This is a deadly bait for a Trout, either aloft [*on the surface*] or at the ground; if your tools be fine and you come close: for the Trout of all other fish, is most affrighted with sight. And indeed it should be considered that fish are afraid of any extraordinary motion or sight of whatsoever colour: except the Pike; which will be open to your sight on a sunshiny day, till you halter him.

The Trout will take also the worm, menise or any bait: so will the Pike, save that he will not take the fly.

22 [p. 171]. There be divers ways to catch the wrinkling Eel. Your line must be stronger—six or seven hairs—and your hook accordingly: for she must upon the hooking presently [*immediately*] be drawn forth with force: otherwise she fastens herself with her tail about a root or stone or such like; and so you lose your labour, your hook, and the fish. The worm or menise are her common bait.

There is a way to catch Eels by "Braggling:" thus. Take a rod, small and tough, of sallow, hazel or such like, a yard long, as big as a beanstalk. In the small end thereof, make a nick or cleft with a knife; in which nick put your strong but little hook baited with a red worm; and made sure to a line of ten or twelve good hairs, but easily that the Eels may pull it out.

Go into some shallow place of the river among the great stones, and braggle up and down till you find holes under the stones. There put in your hook so baited at your rod's end, and the Eel under the stone will not fail to take it. Give her time to put it over; and then, if your strength will serve, she is your own.

There is a third usual way to catch Eels, called "Bobbing." Upon a long and double strong thread, two yards long or thereabouts, spit some many great red worms—gotten in a summer's evening with a candle—as the thread will hold lengthways through the midst, and link them about your hand like a rope, thus

And fasten these to a long goad's end with a cord as long as your rod; and a great plummet of lead, a handful above the "Bob."

In a troubled or flooded river, in a deep tun, or by a stream side; let it fall within a handbreadth of the ground: and then shall you sensibly feel a multitude of Eels, all in that pit, like so many dogs at a carrion; tug and pull. Now at your good time, when you think that every Eel hath got a link and swallowed it up—like so many ducks the entrails of a pullet—draw up very easily, and they will follow working and pulling; till you have them near the crust: and then amain hoist them to land. This is the readiest way where Eels are plentiful, to catch many.

For the Trout, you shall find in the root of a great dock; a white worm with a red head. With this, fish for a Trout at the ground.

23 [p. 172]. A young whelp, kitling, or such like; is good bait for a Luce.

24 [p. 183]. The stronger the wind blows, so you may abide it and guide your tools; and the colder the summer days are: the better will they bite, and the closer [*nearer*] shall you come to them.

25 [p. 184]. I rather think the kades and other filth that fall from sheep do so glut the fish; that they will not take any artificial bait. The same is the reason of the flood; washing down worms, flies, frog-clocks, &c.

26 [p. 184]. I find no difference of winds; except too cold or too hot: which is not the wind, but the season.

27 [p. 185]. Clear cannot be good, by reason of the offensive sight.

28 [p. 185]. The morning can no way be good because the fish have been at relief all the night, as all other wild creatures: and in the day they rest or sport. In the evening is the fittest. Then hunger begins to bite.

29 [p. 186]. The Trout lies in the deep; but feeds in the stream, under a bush, bray, foam, &c.

30 [p. 190]. I have heard much of an ointment that will presently [*immediately*] cause any fish to bite; but I could never attain the knowledge thereof. The nearest in mine opinion — except this *Probatum* — is the oil of an Osprey, which is called *Aquila Marina*, the Sea Eagle. She is of

body near the bigness of a goose; one of her feet is webbed to swim withal, the other hath talons to catch fish. It seems the fish come up to her: for she cannot dive.

Some likelihood there is also in a paste made of *Cocculus Indiæ*, *Assafœtida*, Honey, and Wheat-flour.

But I never tried them. Therefore I cannot prescribe.

31 [p. 190]. That which kills the oak, I conjecture to be Ivy: till I change my mind.

This excellent receipt, divers anglers can tell you where you may buy it.

[Surely this must have been a standing joke among the practitioners of the Art.—E. A.]

Certain Observations Forgotten.

Chevan and chub are one.

The { Shotrell, 1 year / Pickerel, 2 year / Pike, 3 year / Luce, 4 year } are one.

The Summer—May, June and July—are fittest for Angling.

Fish are the fattest in July.

Fish commonly spawn at Michael's tide [29th September]. After spawning; they be kipper, and out of season.

They thrust up little brooks to spawn. The Trout and Salmon will have lying on their backs.

All the summer time, great fish go downwards to deeps.

Bar netting and night hooking; where you love Angling.

When you are angling at the ground: your line must be no longer than your rod.

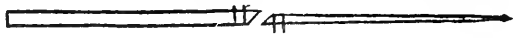
He that is more greedy of fish than sport: let him have three or four angles fitted and baited: and laid in several pools. You shall sometimes have them all sped at once.

If you go forth in or immediately after a shower, and take the water in the first rising; and fish in the stream at the ground with a red worm: you may load yourself, if there be store. Thus may any botcher kill fish.

For want of a pannier: spit your fish by the gills on a small wicker or such like.

I use a pouch of parchment, with many several places to put my hooks and lines in.

I use a rod of two parts, to join in the midst when I come to the river: with two pins and a little hemp waxed. Thus the pins join it, and the hemp fastens it firmly.



A whale bone made round, no bigger than a wheat straw at the top; yields well, and strikes well.

Let your rod be without knots. They are dangerous for breaking, and bouts are troublesome.

Keep your rod neither too dry nor too moist; lest they grow brittle or rotten.

When you angle in [a time of] drought, wet your rod. It will not break so soon.

You shall hardly get a rod of one piece, but either crooked or top heavy or unequally grown.

Enterprise no man's ground without leave. Break no man's hedge to his loss.

Pray to GOD with your heart to bless your lawful exercise.

FINIS.

England's
WAY TO WIN
Wealth, and to employ Ships and Mariners;

OR,

A plain description what great profit it will bring into the Common Wealth of England, by the erecting, building, and adventuring of Busses to sea, a fishing.

With a true Relation of the inestimable wealth, that is yearly taken out of His Majesty's seas by the Hollanders, by their great number of Busses, Pinks, and Line-boats.

AND ALSO,

A Discourse of the sea coast towns of England, and the most fit and commodious places and harbours that we have for Busses; and of the small number of our fishermen; and also of the true valuation and whole charge of building and furnishing to sea, Busses and Pinks, after the Holland manner.

By TOBIAS GENTLEMAN, Fiſherman and Mariner.

LONDON:

Printed by *NATHANIEL BUTTER.* 1614.

TO THE RIGHT NOBLE
LEARNED AND TRULY HONOURABLE
HENRY HOWARD, Earl of NORTHAMPTON, Baron of MARNHILL, Constable of the Castle of Dover, Lord Warden, Chancellor and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, Lord Privy Seal, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and one of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

Right Honourable,

Seeing that, by Nature, our country challengeth a greater interest in us, than our parents, friends, or children can; and that we ought for preservation thereof, oppose [expose] *our lives unto the greatest dangers: it is the part of every native to endeavour something to the advancement and profit thereof: and not to affect it, for that we possess in it; but to love it for itself, as being the common Mother and Nourisher*

of us all. For mine own part, albeit my short fathom can compass no such great design as I desire: yet from a willing mind (as he that offered his hands full of water to great ARTAXERXES), *I am bold to present this Project of my honest and homely labours; beseeching your Lordship, whose virtues have truly ennobled you, to take the same into your protection! and prefer it to the view of our most royal Sovereign, recommending the good effecting thereof to his gracious favour and furtherance! Doubtless your actions and endeavours, having all been full of virtue and goodness, are not the least prevailing motives whereby His Majesty hath so endeared you unto him. In this, then, you shall not think yourself disparaged! the matter being both honest and commendable; and in true value, of as great substance, as the offer of* SEBASTIAN CABOTA *to King* HENRY *the* SEVENTH *for the discovery of the West Indies.*

Humbly at your Lordship's commandment,

TOBIAS GENTLEMAN.

England's Way to win Wealth, and to employ Ships and Mariners.

NOBLE BRITONS! Forasmuch as it hath pleased the Almighty GOD to make us a happy Nation, by blessing and enriching this noble Kingdom with the sweet dew of His heavenly Word truly and plentifully preached amongst us; and also in situating our country in a most wholesome climate, and stored with many rich and pleasant treasures for our benefit, which also yieldeth in abundance all things necessary, so that we do not only excel other nations in strength and courage, but also all other kingdoms far remote are by our English Commodities relieved and cherished: it seemeth also that the wisdom of our gracious GOD hath reserved us, as some precious gem, unto Himself; in environing our country with the plenteous ocean sea, and dividing of us from the whole Continent of the rest of the inferior world by our rich and commodious element of water, which in due seasons, yieldeth to us in abundance. For although our champion [*champagne*] soil, by the diligence of the husbandman, be plentiful unto us; yet doth these watery regions and dominions yield yearly great variety of all kind of most wholesome and dainty fishes: so that it may seem strange and disputable, and hard to determine, which of His Majesty's Dominions, of the Land or Seas, be richer? Myself being the most unworthiest of all, in that I am no scholar, but born a fisherman's son by the seaside, and spending my youthful time at sea about fisher [*fishing*] affairs, whereby now I am more skilful in nets, lines, and hooks, than in

rhetoric, logic, or learned books: yet in those few which I have read, besides the instinct of Nature, which maketh me to know that every one should endeavour himself (the best he is able) to be beneficial and profitable to the kingdom and common wealth wherein he is born; which was a forcible motive to incite me to think of this present Discourse, the penning whereof was thus occasioned.

It was my fortune, some two years past [*i.e., in* 1611], to be sent for into the company of one Master JOHN KEYMAR, who is a man very well deserving of his country; and he, knowing me to have experience in fisher [*fishing*] affairs, demanded of me the Charge both of Busses and Line-boats, after the Hollanders' fashion: and showed unto me some few notes that he had gathered and gotten from other men of my trade, which he seemed greatly to esteem of, for that himself was altogether unexperimented in such business. And further I delivered to him certain principal notes which he seemed greatly to esteem; for that, he said, that "He did mind to show them unto the right honourable Council."

Whereupon I entered into the cogitation of writing this True Relation out of my own experience and knowledge, touching the inestimable sums of money taken yearly for fish and herrings out of His Majesty's seas by strangers. Whereby they have not only maintained their wars against the Spaniard, both by land and sea, he being one of the great Monarchs of the world; and at length they have not only wearied him in the wars and brought him to good terms and reasonable Composition: but also, it is most apparent, notwithstanding the huge charge of their wars, so long continued, which would have made any other nation poor and beggarly; they, to the contrary, are grown exceeding rich and strong in fortified towns and beautiful buildings, in plenty of money and gold, in trade and traffic with all other nations, and have so increased and multiplied their shipping and mariners, that all other nations and countries in the world do admire [*wonder at*] them.

Moreover, whereas one haven in one of their towns did, in former times, contain their ships and shipping; with infinite cost, now they have cut out two havens more to a town: and at this present, are all three havens scarce sufficient with room enough to contain their ships and shipping. And by reason of their industrious fisher-trade, not one of their

people is idle, nor none seen to beg amongst them, except they be some of our own English nation.

And what their chiefest trade is, or the principal Gold Mine, is well known to all merchants that have used those parts, and to myself and all fishermen: namely, that His Majesty's Seas are their chiefest, principal, and only rich Treasury; whereby they have so long time maintained their wars, and have so greatly prospered and enriched themselves.

If that their little country of the United Provinces can do this (as is most manifest before our eyes they do), then what may we His Majesty's subjects do, if this trade of fishing were once erected among us? We having in our own countries [*counties*], sufficient store of all necessaries to accomplish the like business.

For the Hollanders have nothing growing in their own land for that business; but they are compelled to fetch all their wood, timber, and plank, wherewith they build and make all their ships of, out of divers countries: their iron out of other places; their hemp and cordage out of the Eastern [*Baltic*] Countries; the hoops and barrel-boards out of Norway and Sprucia [*Prussia*]; their bread-corn out of Poland and the East Parts; their malt, barley, and best Double Drink from England; and also all their fish and chiefest wealth out of His Majesty's seas.

The which they do transport unto the foresaid countries; and return for the procedue [*proceeds*] of fish and herrings, the forenamed commodities: whereby their ships and mariners are set on work, and continually multiplied; and into their countries is plentiful store of money and gold daily brought, only [*solely*] for the sales of fish and herrings.

And their country being, as it were, a small plot of ground in comparison of Great Britain; for two of His Majesty's counties, Suffolk and Norfolk, do equal, if not exceed, in spaciousness, all their Provinces: and yet it is manifest, that for shipping and seafaring men, all England, Scotland, France, and Spain, for quantity of shipping and fishermen, cannot make so great a number.

Howsoever this may seem strange unto many that do not know it; yet do I assure myself, that a great number besides myself, know I affirm nothing herein but the truth. Wherefore seeing the great benefit that this business by the Busses,

bonadventures, or fisherships; by erecting of this profitable and new trade, which will bring plenty unto His Majesty's Kingdoms and be for the general good of the Common wealth; in setting of many thousands of poor people on work, which now know not how to live; and also for the increasing of ships and fishermen, which shall be employed about the taking of fish and herrings out of His Majesty's own streams; and also for the employing of ships, and increasing of mariners for the strengthening of the Kingdom against all foreign invasions; and for the enriching of Merchants with transportation of fish and herrings into other countries; and also for the bringing in of gold and money: which now is grown but scarce, by reason that the Dutch and Hollanders have so long time been suffered to carry away our money and best gold for fish and herrings taken out of His Majesty's own streams; which His Majesty's own subjects do want and still are like[ly] to do, if that they be not forbidden for bringing us fish and herrings; and this worthy common wealth's business of Busses fostered and furthered by His Majesty's honourable Council, and the worshipful and wealthy subjects; by putting to their helping Adventures now at the first, for that those that be now the fishermen, of themselves be not able to begin.

Those poor boats and sorry nets that our fishermen of England now have, are all their chiefest wealth; but were their ability better, they would soon be employing themselves: for that it is certain that all the fishermen of England do rejoice now at the very name and news of building of Busses, with a most joyful applaud, praying to GOD to further it! for what great profit and pleasure it will bring they do well understand, and I will hereafter declare.

First, I shall not need to prove that it is lawful for us that be His Majesty's own subjects, to take with all diligence the blessings that Almighty GOD doth yearly send unto us, at their due times and seasons; and which do offer themselves freely and abundantly to us, in our own seas and nigh our own shores.

Secondly, to prove that it is feasible for us; for what can be more plain than that we see daily done before our eyes by the Hollanders! that have nothing that they use, growing in their own land, but are constrained to fetch all out of other countries: whereas we have all things that shall be used

about that business growing at home in our own land; pitch and tar only excepted.

Thirdly, to prove it will be profitable, no man need to doubt; for that we see the Hollanders have long maintained their wars: and are nevertheless grown exceeding rich: which are things to be admired, insomuch that themselves do call it their *chiefest trade, and principal Gold Mine; whereby many thousands of their people of trades and occupations be set on work, well maintained, and do prosper.* These be the Hollanders' own words in a Dutch Proclamation, and translated into English; and the copy of that Proclamation is here annexed unto the end of my book

And shall we neglect so great blessings! O slothful England, and careless countrymen! look but on these fellows, that we call the plump Hollanders! Behold their diligence in fishing! and our own careless negligence!

In the midst of the month of May, do the industrious Hollanders begin to make ready their Busses and fisher-fleets; and by the first of their June [*i.e.*, *N.S.*] are they yearly ready, and seen to sail out of the Maas, the Texel, and the Vlie, a thousand Sail together; for to catch herrings in the North seas.

Six hundred of these fisherships and more, be great Busses some six score tons, most of them be a hundred tons, and the rest three score tons, and fifty tons: the biggest of them having four and twenty men; some twenty men, and some eighteen, and sixteen men a piece. So that there cannot be in this Fleet of People, no less than twenty thousand sailors.

These having with them bread, butter, and Holland cheese for their provision, do daily get their other diet out of His Majesty's seas; besides the lading of this Fleet three times a piece commonly before Saint Andrew['s day, *October* 24] with herrings, which being sold by them but at the rate of Ten Pounds the Last, amounteth unto much more than the sum of one million of pounds [=£4,500,000 *in present value*] sterling; only [*solely*] by this fleet of Busses yearly. No King upon the earth did ever see such a fleet of his own subjects at any time; and yet this Fleet is, there and then, yearly to be seen. A most worthy sight it were, if they were my own countrymen; yet have I taken pleasure in being amongst them, to behold the neatness of their ships and fishermen, how

every man knoweth his own place, and all labouring merrily together: whereby the poorest sort of themselves, their wives and children, be well maintained; and no want seen amongst them.

And thus North-West-and-by-North hence along they steer, then being the very heart of summer and the very yolk of all the year, sailing until they do come unto the Isle of Shetland, which is His Majesty's dominions. And with this gallant fleet of Busses, there have been seen twenty, thirty, and forty ships of war to waft [*convoy*] and guard them from being pillaged and taken by their enemies and Dunkirkers: but now the wars be ended, they do save that great charge, for they have not now about four or six to look unto them, for [*from*] being spoiled by rovers and pirates.

Shetland is the greatest Isle of all the Orcades, and lieth in the height of 60° N. Lat.

Now if that it happen that they have so good a wind as to be at Shetland before the 14th day of their June [*i.e.*, *N.S.*] as most commonly they have, then do they all put into Shetland, nigh Swinborough [*Sumburgh*] Head; into a sound called Bracies [*Bressa*] Sound, and there they frolic it on land, until that they have sucked out all the marrow of the malt and good Scotch ale, which is the best liquor that the island doth afford: but the 14th day of June being once come, then away all of them go, for that is the first day, by their own law, before which time they must not lay a net; for until then the herrings be not in season, nor fit to be taken to be salted.

From this place, being nigh two hundred leagues from Yarmouth, do they now first begin to fish, and they do never leave the shoals of herrings, but come along amongst them, following the herrings as they do come, five hundred miles in length [*along*], and lading their ships twice or thrice before they come to Yarmouth, with the principal and best herrings, and sending them away by the merchant ships that cometh unto them, that bringeth them victuals, barrels, and more salt, and nets if that they do need any, the which ships that buyeth their herrings they do call Herring Yagers [*now spelt* Jagers]: and these Yagers carry them, and sell them in the East [*Baltic*] Countries, some to Revel and to Riga, and some so far as Narva and Russia, Stockholm in Sweden, Quinsborough [? *Konigsberg*], Dantsic, and Elving [*Elbing*], and all Poland, Sprucia, and Pomerland, Letto [*Lithuania*], Burnt-Hollume,

Stettin, Lubeck, and Jutland and Denmark. Returning hemp, flax, cordage, cables, and iron; corn, soap ashes, wax, wainscot, clapholt [? *clap-boards*], pitch, tar, masts, and spruce deals, hoops and barrel-boards [*staves*]; and plenty of silver and gold: only [*solely*] for their procedue [*proceeds*] of herrings.

Now besides this great Fleet of the Busses, the Hollanders have a huge number more of smaller burden, only for to take herrings also; and these be of the burden from fifty tons unto thirty tons, and twenty tons. The greatest of them have twelve men a piece, and the smallest eight and nine men a piece; and these are vessels of divers fashions and not like unto the Busses, yet go they only for herrings in the season, and they be called, some of them, Sword-Pinks, Flat-Bottoms, Holland-Toads, Crab-Skuits, and Yevers: and all these, or the most part do go to Shetland; but these have no Yagers to come unto them; but they go themselves home when they be laden, or else unto the best market. There have been seen and numbered of Busses and these, in braces [*rigged*], sound, and going out to sea; and at sea in sight at one time, two thousand Sail, besides them that were at sea without [*out of*] sight, which could not be numbered.

It is Bartholomewtide [*August* 24] yearly, before that they be come from Shetland with the herrings so high as [*down to*] Yarmouth: and all those herrings that they do catch in the Yarmouth seas from Bartholomewtide until Saint Andrew['s day, *October* 24], the worst that be, the roope-sick herrings that will not serve to make barrelled herrings by their own law, they must not bring home into Holland; wherefore they do sell them for ready money or gold unto the Yarmouth men, that be no fishermen, but merchants and ingrossers of great quantities of herrings, if that, by any means, they can get them. So that the Hollanders be very welcome guests unto the Yarmouthian [!] herring-buyers, and the Hollanders do call them their "hosts," and they do yearly carry away from Yarmouth many a thousand pounds, as it is well known.

But these Hollanders, with the ladings of the best, which they make their best brand herrings to serve for Lenten store, they send some for Bordeaux, some for Rochelle, Nantes, Morlaix; and Saint Malo and Caen in Normandy; Rouen, Paris, Amiens, and all Picardy and Calais: and they do return from these places wines, salt, feathers, rosin, woad,

Normandy canvas, and Dowlais cloth, and money and French crowns. But out of all the Archduke's countries they return nothing from thence but ready money, in my own knowledge; and their ready payment was all double Jacobuses, English twenty-[five] shilling pieces. I have seen more there, in one day, than ever I did in London at any time.

For at Ostend, Newport, and Dunkirk, where and when the Holland Pinks cometh in, there daily the Merchants, that be but women (but not such women as the fishwives of Billingsgate; for these Netherland women do lade away many waggons with fresh fish daily, some for Bruges, and some for Brussels, Yperen, Dixmuiden, and Rissels [*Lille*], and at Sas by Ghent), I have seen these Women-Merchants have their aprons full of nothing but English Jacobuses, to make all their payment of; and such heaps and budgetfuls in the counting-houses of the Fish Brokers, which made me much to wonder how they should come by them. And also I know that capons are not so dearly sold by the poulterers in Gratious [*Gracechurch*] Street in London, as fresh fish is sold by the Hollanders in all those Roman Catholic and Papistical countries.

I have seen a small haddock sold there for two shillings [and] sixpence: and a turbot for a Jacobus.

And whereas I have made but a true relation of their Fleets of Busses, and only the herring fishermen that be on His Majesty's seas from June until November: I will here set down the fishermen that, all the year long, in the seasons, do fish for Cod and Ling continually, going and returning laden with barrelled fish.

And these be Pinks and Well-boats of the burden of forty tons, and the smallest thirty tons. These have some twelve men a piece, one with another. There is of this sort of fisher-boats, beginning at Flushing, Camefere, Surwick Sea, the Maas, the Texel, and the Vlie, and the other sandy islands, about five hundred or six hundred Sail which, all the year long, are fishing for Cod; whereof they do make their barrelled fish, which they do transport in the summer into the East parts, but in winter all France is served by them and all the Archduke's countries before spoken of: both of barrelled fish and fresh fish, which they of purpose do keep alive in their

boats in wells. And to us here in England, for love of our strong beer, they bring us barrelled fish in winter; and carry away our money and gold every day in great quantities.

Besides all these Pinks and Well-boats, the Hollanders have continually, in the season, another fleet of fishermen, at the north-east head of Shetland, which be of another quality: and there are more than two hundred of these, and these be called Fly-boats. These do ride at anchor all the season at Shetland, in the fishing grounds, and they have small boats within them, which be like unto Cobles, the which they do put out to lay and haul their lines, whereby they do take great store of Ling: the which they do not barrel, but split them and salt them in the ship's bulk [*hold*]; and these they sell commonly for four and five pounds the hundred. These go by the name of Holland Lings: but they are taken out of His Majesty's seas, and were Shetland Lings before they took them there; and for these Lings they do carry away abundance of England's best money daily.

NOw HAVING declared according unto truth, the numbers of their fishermen in Holland for herrings upon His Majesty's seas; and also of their Pinks and Well-boats; and their courses for taking, venting, and selling of their barrelled fish and fresh fish; and also of their Fly-boats at the north-east head of Shetland, for Shetland Lings: I think it now best, truly to show the true number of our English fishermen, and how they do employ themselves all the year long; first beginning at Colchester, nigh the mouth of the Thames, and so proceeding northward.

I can scarce afford these men of that Water the name of fishermen; for that their chiefest trade is dredging for oysters: yet have they, in the summer, some eight or ten boats in the North seas for Cod; which if that they happen to spend all their salt, and to speed well, they may get some twenty pounds in a summer clear.

But here, by the way, I will make known a great abuse that is offered to the common wealth, and especially to all the herring fishermen of England, only by those men of Colchester Water. For these men, from Saint Andrew

[*October* 24] until Candlemas [*February* 2], and sometimes longer, do set forth Stale-boats, amongst the sands in the Thames' mouth, for to take sprats, with great stale-nets, with a great poke [*bag*]; and they standing in the Swinne or the King's Channel on the back of the Gunfleet, they do there take instead of sprats, infinite thousands of young herrings, smaller than sprats and not good to be eaten, for one sprat is better worth than twenty of those Bleakes or young herrings. But because they do fill the bushel at Billingsgate, where they do sell them for sprats; the which, if that they were let [a]live, would all be, at Midsummer, a fat Summer full Herring. And a peck is sometimes there sold for twopence; which number of herrings at Midsummer would make a barrel of summer herrings, worth twenty or thirty shillings.

If that they could take sprats it were good, for they be good victuals for the City; but for every cartload or bushel of sprats, they take a hundred cartloads or bushels of these young herrings; which be the very spawn of the shoals of the herrings that cometh from Shetland every summer: and whereas they come into Yarmouth seas yearly about Saint Luke's [day, *September* 21] and (sometimes before, if that it do blow a hard easterly wind) do always at that season become roope-sick and do spawn and become shotten [*empty*] betwixt Wintertonness and Orfordness. And those fry of that spawn, those young little creatures, by the wisdom of the great Creator, seeketh into the shore and shallow places, there to be nourished, and also into the Thames' mouth into the sweetest waters; for that the water nigh the shore and in the Thames' mouth is not so briny salt as it is farther off in the deep water. Where these Bleaks yearly seeking to be nourished, they be always at that season taken and destroyed. But if that these men will needs use their Stale-boats and nets, let them go where the good sprats be. They must then stand at Orfordness and in Dunwich bay, where there be excellent sprats: and for the good of all the herring fishermen of England, I wish that they might be prohibited to sell that which is not wholesome to be eaten; which is as much as to sell hemlock for parsnips.

The next to Colchester, is Harwich Water. A royal harbour and a proper town, fit for the use of Busses (no place in all

Holland comparable to it, for there is both land and strand and dry beach enough for four hundred Sail); but the chiefest trade of the inhabitants of this place is with Caravels for Newcastle coals: but they have three or four ships yearly that they do send to Iceland for Cod and Ling from March until September; and some years they get, and some years they lose. But if that they had but once the trade of Busses, this would soon be a fine place: but those Caravels and Ships which they now have, be all their chiefest wealth.

Six miles up Harwich water stands Ipswich; which is a gallant town and rich. This Town is such a place for the Busses, as in all England and Holland I know no place so convenient. First, it is the best place in all England for the building of Busses; both for the plenty of timber and plank, and excellent workmen for making of ships. There are more there, than there are in six of the best towns in all England. Secondly, it is a principal place for good housewives for spinning of yarn, for the making of pouldavice [*canvas*]; for there is the best that is made. Which town with the use of the making of twine, will soon be the best place of all England for to provide nets for the Busses. It is also a most convenient place for the wintering of the Busses, for that all the shores of that river are altogether ooze and soft ground, fit for them to lie on in winter.

Also the Ipswich men be the chiefest Merchant Adventurers of all England, for all the East Lands [*Baltic Countries*], for the Suffolk cloths: and they have their factors lying, all the year long, in all those places where the Hollanders do vent their herrings, and where the best price and sale is continually. And although that yet there be no fishermen, yet have they store of seafaring men, and for Masters for the Busses, they may have enough from Yarmouth and So[uth]w[o]ld and the sea-coast towns [*villages*] down their river. From Nacton and Chimton, Holbroke, Shotley, and Cowlness they may get men that will soon be good fishermen with but little use. For understand thus much! that there is a kind of emulation in Holland between the fishermen that go to sea in Pinks and Line-boats, winter and summer; and those fishermen that go in the Busses. For they in the Pinks make a scorn of them in the Busses,

This Town is most fit and convenient place to make a Staple Town for corn for all England, for the return and sale of the Busses' herrings from Dantsic and Poland.

and do call them *koe-milkens* or "cow-milkers": for indeed the most part of them be men of occupations [*handicraftsmen*] in winter, or else countrymen; and do milk the cows themselves and make all the Holland cheese, when they be at home.

This place is also most convenient for the erecting of salt-pans, for the making of "Salt upon Salt." For that the harbour is so good that, at all times, ships may come unto them with salt from Mayo, or Spanish salt, to make brine or pickle; and also the Caravels from Newcastle with coals for the boiling of it at the cheapest rates, at any time may come thither.

To the north-east of this place, three or four leagues, is Orford Haven; and in the towns of Orford and Aldborough especially be many good fishermen. And there are belonging to those towns some forty or fifty North Sea boats, that yearly go to sea, having seven men a piece; and ten or twelve Iceland barks, which sometimes get something, and sometimes little or nothing. If that these men's wealth were in Busses and nets, and had but once the trade, they would put down the Hollander! for they be great plyers of any voyage that they do undertake.

About three leagues to the northward is So[uth]w[o]ld Haven, and in the towns of So[uth]w[o]ld, Dunwich, and Walderswick be a very good breed of fishermen; and there are belonging unto those three towns, of North Sea boats some twenty sail; and of Iceland barks some fifty sail, which yearly they send for Cod and Ling to Iceland.

Dunwich in ancient times hath been the seat of the Kings of the East Angles, but [is] now all ruined.

This town of So[uth]w[o]ld, of a sea town, is the most beneficial unto His Majesty, of all the towns in England; by reason all their trade is unto Iceland for Ling, and His Majesty's Serjeant Caterer hath yearly gratis out of every ship and bark, one hundred of the choicest and fairest Lings, which be worth more than ten pound the hundred; and they call them "Composition Fish." But these men of this place are greatly hindered, and in a manner undone, by reason their haven is so bad, and in a manner often stopped up with beach and shingle stone that the wind and tide and the sea do beat thither, so that many time, in the season,

My father lived in this town until he was 98 years of age, and gave these Composition Ling seventy years unto four Princes, viz., King EDWARD, Queen MARY, Queen ELIZABETH, and until the sixth year [1609] of the reign of our most gracious Sovereign. Which cometh to much more

when they be ready to go to sea; they cannot get out when time is to go to sea; neither can they get in when they return from sea, but oftentimes do cast away their goods and themselves. This haven if that it had but a south pier built of timber, would be a far better haven than Yarmouth haven, with one quarter of the cost that hath been bestowed on Yarmouth haven. They be now suitors unto His Majesty: GOD grant that they may speed! For it is pitiful, the trouble and damage that all the men of these three towns do daily sustain by their naughty [*inadequate*] harbour.

than one thousand pounds, for one man of that town.

To the northward of So[uth]w[o]ld Haven three leagues, are Kirkley and Layestof [*Lowestoft*], decayed towns. They have six or seven North Sea boats: but they of Lowestoft make benefit yearly of buying of herrings of the Hollanders; for likewise these Hollanders be "hosted" with the Lowestoft men, as they be with the Yarmouthians.

To the northward, two leagues, is the town of Great Yarmouth, very beautifully built upon a very pleasant and sandy plain of three miles in length. This town is a place of great resort of all the herring fishermen of England. For thither do resort all the fishermen of the Cinque Ports and all the rest of the West Country men of England, as far as Burport [*Bridport*], and Lyme [Regis] in Dorsetshire: and those herrings that they do take they do not barrel, because their boats be but small things, but they sell all unto the Yarmouth herring-buyers for ready money. And also the fishermen of the north countries, beyond Scarborough and Robin Hood's Bay, and some as far as the Bishopric of Durham do thither resort yearly, in poor little boats called "Five-Men Cobbles"; and all the herrings that they do take they do sell fresh unto the Yarmouth men, to make red herrings.

In all His Majesty's kingdoms, not any town comparable unto it for brave buildings.

Also to Yarmouth, do daily come into the haven up to the quay, all or the most part of the great Fleet of Hollanders, which before I made relation of, that go in the Sword-Pinks, Holland-Toads, Crab-Skuits, Walnut-Shells, and great and small Yevers; one hundred and two hundred sail at one time together, and all their herrings that they do bring in, they do sell them all, for ready money, to the Yarmouth men.

And also the Frenchmen of Picardy and Normandy, some hundred sail of them at a time, do come thither; and all the herrings they catch, they sell fresh unto these Herring-mongers of Yarmouth, for ready money. So that it amounteth unto a great sum of money, that the Hollanders and Frenchmen do carry away from Yarmouth yearly into Holland and France: which money doth never come again into England.

This town is very well governed by wise and civil [*prudent*] Magistrates, and good orders carefully observed for the maintenance of their Haven and Corporation. And this town, by reason of the situation, and the fresh rivers that belong to it, one [*the Wensum*] up to the city of Norwich; and another [*the Waveney*] that runneth far up into Suffolk, a butter and cheese country, about Bunga [*Bungay*] and Betkels [*Beccles*]; and a third [*the Bure*] that runneth far up into Flegg [*by Aylesham*] a corn country; by reason whereof this town of Yarmouth is always well served with all kind of provision at good and cheap rates: whereby they of the town do relieve the strangers, and also do benefit themselves.

To this town belongeth some twenty Iceland barks, which yearly they do send for Cod and Ling, and some hundred and fifty sail of North Sea boats. They make a shift to live; but if that they had the use of Busses and also barrelled fish, they would excel all England and Holland. For they be the only fishermen for North seas, and also the best for the handling of their fish that be in all this land.

The herring buyers of Yarmouth doth profit more than doth the fishermen of Yarmouth, by reason of the resort of the Hollanders; for that they are suffered to sell all their roope-sick herrings at Yarmouth to the Merchants there. And also the barrelled fish that the Flemings do bring in winter to London, Ipswich, Lynn, and Hull do also gale [*gaul*] them: but for that [*seeing that*] our fishermen may, if they please, make barrelled fish themselves; and therefore I will not moan [*bemoan*] them!

Yarmouth haven is the only refuge, in distress of weather, for all the fishermen of the Cinque Ports and all

The merchant herring buyer of Yarmouth that hath a stock of his own, so long as he can make his gains so certain with buying of roope-sick herrings of the Hollanders, will never lay out his money to build or set forth Busses; and the fishermen be now so poor, by reason that they only do bear the

whole charge of that costly haven, the merchant herring buyers being not at any charge thereof: but all that great cost cometh out of the fishermen's labours for the maintenance of that wooden haven [*pier*], which amounteth to some five hundred pounds a year, and some years more. So that though they be willing, yet their ability will not suffer them to do it; neither can they forbear [*invest*] their money to adventure their herrings into the East [*Baltic*] Countries, where the best sales always be.

others that do fish in those seas: and it is built all of timber, against the violence of the main sea. It is now in great danger to come to ruin; if they have not help in time.

To the northward of Yarmouth eight leagues, are the towns of Blackney and Wells, good harbours and fit for Busses: and they have good store of fishermen. And these towns have some twenty Sail of barks that they do yearly send unto Iceland. But these towns be greatly decayed, to that they have been in times past: the which places, if that they had but twenty Busses belonging to them, would soon grow rich towns in short time.

Then is there [King's] Lynn, a proper gallant town for sea-faring men, and for men for Iceland. This is a rich town, and they have some twenty Sail of Iceland ships, that they yearly send for Cod and Ling: and I am in hope to see them fall to the use of Busses as soon as any men.

To the northward is Boston, a proper town; and like unto Holland's soil, for low ground and sands coming in: but yet there are but few fishermen; but it is a most fit place for Busses. If that they had but once the taste of them, they would soon find good liking.

Next to Boston, some twenty leagues to the northward, is the great river of Humber, wherein there is Hull, a very proper town of sailors and shipping: but there be but few fishermen. But it is a most convenient place for to adventure Busses.

There are also Grimsby, Paul, and Patrington. In all these places now there is great store of poor and idle people, that know not how to live; and the most of all these places be decayed, and the best of them all grow worse and worse: which with the use of Busses would soon grow rich merchant towns, as is in Holland. For to these places would be transported of the East lands all manner of commodities for the use of Busses; and houses and work-yards erected for

coopers, and ropemakers, and great numbers of net-makers. And with the recourse of the ships that shall bring salt and other commodities, and ships that shall lade away their herrings and fish, these places shall soon become populous; and money stirring plentifully in these places returned for the procedue [*proceeds*] of fish and herrings: which places now be exceeding poor and beggarly.

In all these fisher towns, that I have before named, as Colchester, Harwich, Orford, Aldborough, Dunwich, Walderswick, So[uth]w[o]ld, Yarmouth, Blackney, Wells, Lynn, Boston, and Hull—these be all the chiefest towns; and all that useth the North seas in summer: and all these towns, it is well known, be ruinated.

In all these towns I know to be — Iceland barks, and — North Sea boats; and all these fishermen having — men a piece amounteth to the sum of —. But admit that there are in all the West Country of England of fisherboats, tag and rag, that bringeth home all fresh fish, which seldom or never useth any salt; say, that they have other — men a piece which makes the sum of — in all England.

I crave pardon, for that I omit the particular numbers and total sum; which I could here set down if I were commanded.*

But in all these I have not reckoned the fishermen, mackerel-catchers, nor the Cobble-men of the north country, which having — men a piece, cometh to — men in all England.

But so many in all England, and I have truly showed before, that the Hollander hath in one fleet of Busses, twenty thousand fishermen; besides all them that goeth in the Sword-Pinks, Flat-Bottoms, Crab-Skuits, Walnut-Shells, and Great Yevers, wherein there are not less than twelve thousand more: and all these are only for to catch herrings in the North seas. Besides all they that go in the Fly-boats for Shetland Ling, and the Pinks for barrelled fish, and Trammel-boats: which cometh unto five thousand more.

So that it is most true, that as they have the sum of — fishermen more than there is in all this land: and by reason of their Busses and Pinks and fishermen that set their Merchant-ships on work [*a work*]; so have they — ships and — mariners more than we.

* Our Author has however already specified the number to be, at least, Iceland barks 126, and North Sea boats 237.

NOW IN our sum of — fishermen; let us see what vent [*sale*] have we for our fish into other countries? and what commodities and coin is brought into this kingdom? and what ships are set on work by them, whereby mariners are bred or employed? Not one! It is pitiful!

For when our fishermen cometh home the first voyage [*i.e., in the summer*] from the North Seas, they go either to London, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Lynn, Hull, or Scarborough; and there they do sell, at good rates, the first voyage. But the second voyage (because that they which be now the fishermen, have not yet the right use of making of barrelled fish, wherewith they might serve France, as do the Hollanders) they be now constrained to sell in England. For that it is staple [*standard*] fish; and not being barrelled, the French will not buy it.

But if that our fishermen had but once the use of Pinks and Line-boats and barrelled fish; then they might serve France as well as the Hollanders: which by this new trade of Busses being once erected, and Pinks, and Line-boats after the Holland manner; there will be fishermen enough to manage the Pinks for barrelled fish, from November unto the beginning of May, only the most part of those men that shall be maintained by the Busses. For that, when the Busses do leave work, in the winter, their men shall have employment by the Pinks for barrelled fish; which men now do little or nothing. For this last winter at Yarmouth, there were three hundred idle men that could get nothing to do, living very poor for lack of employment; which most gladly would have gone to sea in Pinks, if there had been any for them to go in.

And whereas I said before, that there was not one ship set on work by our fishermen: there may be objected against me this. That there doth every year commonly lade at Yarmouth four or five London ships for the Straits [*of Gibraltar*], which is sometimes true. And the Yarmouth men themselves do yearly send two or three ships to Bordeaux, and two or three boats laden with herrings, to Rouen, or to Nantes, or Saint Malo: whereby there are returned salt, wines, and Normandy canvas; whereby the King hath some custom. But there is no *money* returned into England for these herrings,

No more English but two ships this year laded there.

Note here how the Hollanders employ themselves and their Ships! First, in taking of the herrings quick [*alive*]; and yet are not content! but catch them again, after they be dead! and do set both their ships and mariners on work: and English ships lie up a rotting!

which cost the Yarmouthians *ready gold*, before that they had them of the Hollanders and Frenchmen to lade these ships: and therefore I may boldly say, Not one!

And this last year now the Hollanders themselves have also gotten that trade, for there did lade twelve sail of Holland ships with red herrings at Yarmouth for Civita Vecchia, Leghorn, Genoa, and Marseilles and Toulon. Most of them being ladened by the English merchants. So that if this be suffered, the English owners of ships shall have but small employment for theirs.

NOw to show truly, what the whole charge of a Buss will be, with all her furniture, as masts, sails, anchors, cables, and with all her fisher's implements and appurtenances, at the first provided all new. It is a great charge, she being between thirty and forty Last [=60 *to* 80 *Tons*] and will cost some five hundred pounds [= *about* £2,250 *in present value*].

By the grace of GOD, the Ship or Buss will continue twenty years, with small cost and reparations: but the yearly slite [*fraying*] and wear of her tackle and war-ropes and nets will cost some eighty pounds.

And the whole charge for the keeping of her at sea for the whole summer, or three voyages; for the fitting of a hundred Last of caske or barrels.

If any will know all the particulars of Weys of Salt, or Barrels of Beer, or Hundred[weight]s of Biscuits, I will willingly resolve [*explain to*] him; but here is the whole charge, and with the most [*at the outside.*]

100 Last of Barrels...	£72	One hundred Last of herrings, filled and sold at £10 the Last, cometh to one thousand pounds.	
For Salt, four months	88		
Beer, four months	42		
For Bread, four months ...	21		
Bacon and Butter	18		
For Pease, four months... ...	3		
For Billet, four months... ...	3	Herrings ...	£1,000
For men's wages, four months	88	The whole charge	335
	£335	Gotten	£665

[See full particulars in the later work *Britain's Buss* in Vol. III. p. 621.]

Here plainly appeareth that there is gotten £665 in one

summer, whereout if that you do deduct £100 for the wear of the ship and the reparations of her nets against the next summer; yet still there £565 remaining for clear gains, by one Buss in one year.

And I have rated the Herrings, but at £10 the Last; which is with the least. For they be commonly sold by the Hollanders at Dantsic for £15 and £20 the Last.

The Hollanders do make [*consider*] the profit of their Busses so certain, that they do lay out their own children's money, given them by their deceased friends, in adventuring in the Busses; and also there is in Holland a Treasury for Orphans opened and laid out in adventuring in the Busses.

The Hollanders do make both a profitable and a pleasant trade of this summer fishing. For there was one of them that having a gallant great new Buss of his own, and he having a daughter married unto one that was his Mate in the Buss: the Owner that was Master of this Buss did take his wife with him aboard, and his Mate his wife; and so they did set sail for the North seas, with the two women with them, the mother and the daughter. Where, having a fair wind, and being fishing in the North seas, they had soon filled their Buss with herrings; and a Herring-Yager cometh unto them, and brings them gold and fresh supplies, and copeth [*bargaineth*] with them, and taketh in their herrings for ready money, and delivereth them more barrels and salt; and away goeth the Yager for the first market into Sprucia [*Prussia*]. And still is the Buss fishing at sea, and soon after again was full laden and boone [*bound*] home: but then another Yager cometh unto him as did the former, and delivering them more provision of barrels, salt, and ready money, and bids them farewell. And still the Buss lieth at sea, with the mother and daughter, so long, and not very long before they had again all their barrels full; and then they sailed home into Holland, with the two women, and the buss laden with herrings, and a thousand pounds of ready money.

Ready money; or tallies, which are as Bills of Exchange, to be paid at first sight.

If that any man should make question of the truth of this, it will be very credibly approved by divers of good credit that be now in the city of London.

Now to show the charge of a Pink of eighteen or twenty Last [=36 *to* 40 *tons*]. The Pink being built new, and all things new into her, will not cost £260, with all her lines, hooks, and all her fisher appurtenances.

And

15 Last of barrels will cost	£10
5 Weys of "Salt upon Salt"	15
For Beer and Cask	7
For Bread	3
For Butter	1
For the Petty Tally	1
For men's wages for two months, Master and all together	20
	£57

Fifteen Last of barrelled fish at £14 8s. the Last, which is but twenty-four shillings the barrel, amounteth to £216; whereout if that you do deduct £57 for the charge of setting her to sea, there is still resting £159 clear gain by one Pink, with fifteen Last of fish, for two months.

Wherefore, seeing the profit so plain; and, by the grace of GOD, so certain; both by the Busses and Line-boats, whereby the Hollanders have so long gained by: let all noble, worshipful, and wealthy subjects put to their adventuring and helping hands, for the speedy launching and floating forward of this great good common wealth business, for the strengthening of His Majesty's dominions with two principal pillars, which are, with plenty of coin brought in for Fish and herrings from other nations, and also for the increasing of mariners against all common invasions. And also for the bettering of trades and occupations, and setting of thousands of poor and idle people on work, which now know not how to live; which by this Trade of Busses shall be employed: as daily we see is done, before our eyes, by the Hollanders. And, as always it hath been seen, that those that be now the fishermen of England have been always found to be sufficient to serve His Majesty's ships in former time, when there has been employment: which fellows, by this new trade of building and setting forth of Busses will be greatly multiplied and increased in this land. Which fellows, as we see the Hollanders, being well fed in fishing affairs, and strong[er] and lustier than the sailors that use the long southern voyages that sometimes are greatly surfeited and hunger-pined: but these courageous, young, lusty, fed-strong younkers, that shall be bred in the Busses, when His Majesty

shall have occasion for their service in war against the enemy, will be fellows for the nonce! and will put more strength to an iron crow at a piece of great ordnance in traversing of a cannon or culvering, with the direction of the experimented [*experienced*] Master Gunner, than two or three of the forenamed surfeited sailors. And in distress of wind-grown sea, and foul winter's weather, for flying forward to their labour, for pulling in a topsail or a spritsail, or shaking off a bonnet in a dark night! for wet and cold cannot make them shrink, nor stain that the North seas and the Busses and Pinks have dyed in the grain, for such purposes.

And whosoever shall go to sea for Captain to command in martial affairs, or to take charge for Master in trade of merchandise (as in times past I have done both) will make choice of these fellows: for I have seen their resolution in the face of their enemy, when they have been *legeramenta* [Italian for *light-hearted*] and frolicsome, and as forward as about their ordinary labours or business.

And when His Majesty shall have occasion and employment for the furnishing of his Navy, there will be no want of Masters, Pilots, Commanders, and sufficient directors of a course and keeping of computation; but now there is a pitiful want of sufficient good men to do the offices and labours before spoken of. All which, these men of the Busses and Pinks will worthily supply.

It is not unknown, that last year [1613] there was a general press along the coast of England, from Hull in Yorkshire unto St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, only for sailors to furnish but seven ships, for the wafting over [*conveying*] of the Count Palatine and his noble Princess but twenty-eight leagues.

And to the art of sailing they may happily attain. For hitherto it hath been commonly seen, that those men that have been brought up in their youth in fishery, have deserved as well as any in the land for artificial [*scientific*] sailing: for at this time is practised all the projections of circular and mathematical scales and arithmetical sailing by divers of the young men of the sea-coast towns, even as commonly amongst them, as amongst the Thamesers.

Besides all the Hollanders before spoken of, the Frenchmen of Picardy have also a hundred sail of fishermen, only [*solely*] for herrings on His Majesty's seas every year in the summer season; and they be almost like unto the Busses: but they have not any Yagers that cometh unto them, but they do lade themselves, and return home twice

Some of these be 60 and 80 tons, the burden.

every year; and find great profit by their making but two voyages every summer season.

The Hollanders do yearly take so many, as they do make more than two millions of pounds sterling. And we, His Majesty's subjects, do take no more than do bait our hooks!

And it is much to be lamented that we, having such a plentiful country, and such store of able and idle people, that not one of His Majesty's subjects is there to be seen all the whole summer to fish or to take one herring; but only the North Sea boats of the sea-coast towns that go to take Cod, they do take so many as they do need to bait their hooks and no more.

We are daily scorned by these Hollanders for being so negligent of our profit, and careless of our fishing; and they do daily flout us that be the poor fishermen of England, to our faces at sea, calling to us and saying, *Ya English! ya zall, or oud scove dragien*, which in English is this, "You English! we will make you glad for to wear our old shoes."

And likewise the Frenchmen, they say, "We are apish," for that we do still imitate them in all needless and fantastical jags [*tatters*] and fashions. As it is most true indeed. For that they have no fashion amongst them in apparel nor lace, points, gloves, hilts, nor garters; even from the spangled shoe-latchet unto the spangled hat and hatband (be it never so idle and costly): but after that we do once get it, it is far bettered by our nation.

Wherefore, seeing that we can excel all other nations, wastefully to spend money; let us in one thing learn of other nations! to get thousands out of His Majesty's sea! and to make a general profit of the benefits that Almighty GOD doth yearly send unto us, in far more greater abundance than the fruit of our trees! which although they [*the fishes*] be more changeable in the gathering together, yet is the profit far more greater unto this kingdom and common wealth of all His Majesty's subjects, increasing the wealth of the Adventurers; as also for the enriching of Merchants, and maintaining of trades, occupations, and employing of ships, and increasing of mariners which now do but little or nothing; as also for the setting of poor and idle people on work, which now know not how to live. And to teach many a tall fellow to know the proper names of the ropes in a ship, and to haul the bowline; that now for lack of em-

ployment many such, by the inconvenience of idle living, are compelled to end their days with a rope by an untimely death; which by the employment of the Busses might be well avoided, and they in time become right honest, serviceable, and trusty subjects.

The sailor's proverb, *The sea and the gallows refuse none!*

HERE SINCE my book came to the press, I have been credibly certified by men* of good worth (being Fishmongers) that since Christmas last, unto this day; there hath been paid to the Hollanders, here in London, only for barrels of fish and Holland Ling, the sum of Twelve thousand pounds [=*about* £50,000 *in the present day*].

*Master WILLIAM SNELLING, Master STEPHEN TOPLEY, and divers others of the Company of Fishmongers.

And last of all, if that there be any of worshipful Adventurers that would have any directions for the building of these Busses or fisher-ships, because I know that the ship carpenters of England be not yet skilful in this matter; wherefore if that any shall be pleased to repair to me, I will be willing to give them directions and plain projections and geometrical demonstrations for the right building of them, both for length, breadth, and depth, and also for their mould under water, and also for the contriving of their rooms and the laying of their gear,* according to the Hollanders' fashion. Any man shall hear of me at Master NATHANIEL BUTTER's, a Stationer's shop at Saint Austen's Gate in Paul's Churchyard. Farewell this 18th of February [1614].

*And for providing of their Cordage and Nets, after the most neatest and cheapest rates.

FINIS.

BRITAIN'S BUSS,

OR

A COMPUTATION

as well of the Charge of a Buss or

Herring Fishing Ship; as also of the

Gain and Profit thereby.

By *E. S.*

LONDON.

Printed by William Jaggard for Nicholas Bourne, and are to be sold at his shop at the South Entry of the Royal Exchange. 1615.

BRITAIN'S BUSS.

DIVERS TREATISES have been published here in England, some long since, some very lately, all of them inviting to the building and employing of English fishing ships, such as our neighbouring Hollanders call BUSSES, principally to fish for herrings: with which kind of fish, Almighty GOD, of His rich bounty (blessed be His name therefore!), hath abundantly stored His Majesties streams on the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, above all the known parts of the world.

Four books I have seen of this subject.

One called the *British Monarchy*, written *Anno Domini* 1576 which is near[ly] forty years past.

The second, entitled HITCHCOCK'S *New Year's Gift* printed about thirty[-five] years since.

The third, named *England's Way to Win Wealth and to increase ships and, mariners* published within these two years: whose author [*TOBIAS GENTLEMAN, Mariner, (of Yarmouth)*], I have heard, was trained up from his youth, and is very expert, both in navigation and fishing [*See Vol.* IV. *p.* 323.]

The fourth, styled *The Trade's Increase*, now newly come abroad.

In all which four books; but especially in the two last, the necessity, faculty, profit, and use of that fishing trade is proponed [*set forth*] and handled.

After I had read three of the former books, and before the fourth and last came to light, I was much affected with the business. And the more I consider it, the more is my

affection confirmed and increased. And out of vehement desire to see this work, which I conceive to tend so much to GOD's glory, to the honour of our noble King, to the general strength, safety, and commodity of all His Majesty's large kingdoms and dominions, and to the private and peculiar benefit and advancement of every private Undertaker herein: I say, out of vehement desire to see this work in hand, and the prosperity thereof, I inquired, as often as conveniently I could, what Busses or fishing ships were in building on our coasts, or were bought or used by any English.

At length, I was informed, and that very truly, that one ROGER GODSDUE, Esquire, of Bucknam Ferry in Norfolk, had begun to apply himself to this worthy work, and had on the stocks at Yarmouth, five Busses; whereof I understand one is, since that time, launched, and that the other four are in good forwardness. But when, upon inquiry after the gentleman, I heard him to be a man of such undoubted honesty and integrity, besides his other virtues and worth; methought I did see GOD beginning this good business in a good hand.

Soon after, I heard that another worthy gentleman, namely, Sir WILLIAM HARVEY, Knight, had on the stocks at Limehouse, in the yard of Master STEVENS, shipwright, another very fair large Buss near[ly] as big as any Flemish Buss: which Buss I did afterwards see myself, when she was in launching; and she is now in the Thames before Ratcliffe.

But besides these two gentlemen, I have not yet heard of any English that have yet applied themselves that way.

Now because, after many considerations of that matter, I perceived that none of the four treatises before mentioned, had set down in very plain particulars, the *exact* Charge of building, manning, victualling, and furnishing of such a Buss; and of the Gain or Profit, which, by GOD's blessing, in probability may redound yearly to the particular owner and adventurer of such a ship; and conceiving hope, that the publication of such particulars, might be some furtherance of the action: I resolved to bestow my best labours to get such particulars. And to that end, I travailed and conferred with such; both shipwrights, mariners, fishermen, netmakers, and others, as I thought to be able to inform me in the

premises: that so I also might bring straw or mortar to that noble building, or that I might pick or teaze oakum, or do somewhat, that am not able to do much.

And for that, upon conference with some experienced in this herring fishery, I am informed that a Buss of thirty-five Last, that is, of seventy Tons, is of a very good and meet size or scantling, wherewith, in four month's fishing, yearly, to make the gain or profit by herrings only [as] hereafter in particular [is] set down; besides her employment yearly also in cod fishing, &c: I have therefore here imparted such instructions, as I could attain unto.

1. First[ly], of the precise dimensions or proportions of such a Buss of thirty-five Last, that is, of seventy Tons.
2. Secondly, of the uttermost charges of such a Buss, and the particulars of all her masts, yards, sails, flags, pulleys, shivers, tackling, cables, and anchors; together also with her cock-boat and oars.
3. Thirdly, the particulars of her Carpenter's store; and of her Steward's store; and of her weapons, and the charge of them all.
4. Fourthly, the particulars of her herring-nets, and of the warropes and other ropes, cords, and lines; [of] cork, pynbols or buyes belonging to those nets: with the particular charges of them all.
5. Fifthly, the particular tools and implements used in dressing and packing of the said herrings, and their particular prices.
6. Sixthly, the charge of one hundred Last of herring casks or barrels, and of salt needful for the packing of a hundred Last of herrings.
7. Seventhly, the particular charge of four month's victuals for sixteen persons to serve in the said Buss; and the particular charge of physic and surgery helps, for those sixteen persons.
8. Eighthly, the particular utmost wages of the said sixteen persons for the said four months.
9. Lastly, the Gain or Profit, by GOD's blessing, hoped for by such a four months' herring fishing.

Afterwards is also set down the yearly charges of repairing

the said Buss; and of her apparel and furniture, and also of the said nets, &c.: together with the rest of the Second Year's Charge and Gain.

By which Second Year's Charge and Gain, you shall see the charge and gain of every year following, so long as the Buss lasteth; which, by GOD's blessing and good usage, may well be twenty years at least.

HE THAT will give a probable estimate of any Charge, must tie himself to some particular proportions, which he must admit as the very just allowances. But I would have none to imagine that I intend these particulars to be such as may not be varied. If any be so vain [as] to make scornful constructions, I hold such fellows to be not worth the thinking on.

A BUSS of thirty-five Last, that is, of 70 Tons,
must be on the keel, in length ... ... Fifty feet.
And on the main beam ... ... Seventeen feet
And her rake on the stem forward... ... ... Sixteen feet.
And her rake on the sternpost eastward on ... ... Seven feet.
And her waist from her lower edge of her deck-ledges
unto her ceilings ... ... Thirteen feet.

SUCH a Buss, with her cabins, cook-room, and other rooms, fitted for the sea, and to this fishing service, together with her rudder, iron-work, bolts, chain-bolts, shroud-chains, nails, &c.; and her cock-boat and oars, will cost, at most ... ... £ 260 s. 0 d. 0
All her masts and yards will cost, at most 8 0 0
The making and fitting her said masts and yards 2 0 0
Her pulleys and shivers [or *sheevers*], at most 2 0 0
Her rigging or tackling ropes of the fittest sizes or scantlings, will come to, at most, 8 cwt. of ropes; which will cost, at most, 30s. a cwt., which comes to 12 0 0
Her mainsail and two bonnets must be eleven yards deep and sixteen cloths broad of Ipswich poledavis; which comes unto 176 yards of poledavis: which at ninepence a yard will cost 6 12 0
Her main topsail must be eight yards deep and eight cloths broad at the yard, and sixteen cloths broad at the clews;

	£	s.	d.
which takes 96 yards of Bungay canvas: which at eightpence a yard will cost	3	4	0
Her foresail, the course, and two bonnets must be ten yards deep and twelve cloths broad, taking up 120 yards of Ipswich poledavis: which at ninepence a yard comes to	4	10	0
Her mizen or back-sail must be four cloths broad and five yards deep; which takes 20 yards of Bungay cloth: which at eightpence comes to	0	13	4
So that all the sails take 420 yards of sailcloth of both sorts, which 420 yards (at 28 yards to a bolt) makes almost 15 bolts of cloth. And the Sailmaker will have for his work five shillings a bolt, which comes to	3	15	0
Bolt ropes for all the said sails, and twine, &c., to make the said sails withal, will cost, at most	1	15	8
	£304	10	0

	£	s.	d.
TWO FLAGS or fans, to observe the wind by, with their staves; at two shillings a piece...	0	4	0
Two or three hand[s]pikes, of ash, at most	0	2	0
Two waterskeits, to wet the sails; at eighteen-pence a piece	0	3	0
Two water-buckets, at sixpence	0	1	0
Six maps [*mops*], to cleanse the Buss withal, at sixpence ...	0	3	0
Compasses and boxes, two; at ten shillings a piece, at most	1	0	0
Hour-glasses, three or four, at most, at eighteen-pence ...	0	6	0
A lanthorne for the poop	0	10	0
Two other lanthornes, at eighteen-pence a piece	0	3	0
Fenders or long poles, four, at two shillings	0	8	0
Long oars, six, at three shillings and fourpence	1	0	0
An iron crow, of 15lbs., at fourpence [*per lb.*]...	0	5	0
	£4	5	0

Four Cables.

		£	s.	d.
ONE CABLE of nine inches [and nearly three inches thick] about, and one hundred fathoms, *i.e.*, two hundred yards long, will weigh about...	18 cwt.			
A second cable eight inches and a-half [about 2½ inches thick] about, and of the length above said, well weigh about	15 cwt.			
A third cable seven inches and a-half [about 2 inches thick] about, and of like length, will weigh	11 cwt.			
The fourth cable seven inches [about 2 inches thick] about, and of like length, will weigh...	10 cwt.			
	54 cwt.			
So all the four cables will weigh about 54 cwt.; which 54 cwt. of cables, at 30s. [*per*] cwt., will cost		£81	0	0

Four Anchors.

ONE ANCHOR to weigh about ... ... 4 cwt.
A second to weigh about ... ... 3½ cwt.
A third to weigh about ... ... 2½ cwt.
A fourth to weigh about ... ... 2 cwt.

So all the four anchors, weighing ... ... 12 cwt.,
at 26s. 8d. a cwt., will cost £16 0 0
Four anchor stocks, and the fitting of them, at ten
shillings a piece... ... ... 2 0 0

And so the four anchors, and their four stocks will
come to... ... ... £18 0 0

Steward's Store.

	£	s.	d.
SHORT iron pot-hangers; two, at twelve-pence	0	2	0
Pothooks, two pair, at tenpence	0	1	8
A large iron Pease-pot, of five or six gallons...	0	10	0
A large copper fish-kettle, about 32lbs. weight, at fifteen-pence a pound	2	0	0
A wooden scummer [*skimmer*] or two	0	0	4
Wooden ladles, two or three	0	0	4
A gridiron, at most	0	2	6
A fryingpan	0	2	6
Pipkins, two or three	0	0	6
A chafing dish, of iron	0	2	0
A small fire-shovel, and a pair of tongs	0	2	6
A pair of bellows	0	0	8
Trays, two, at fifteen-pence a piece	0	2	6
Trugs, two, at ninepence a piece	0	1	6
Wooden platters, twelve, at fourpence	0	4	0
Wooden potagers, twenty-four	0	2	0
Trenchers, four dozen, at threepence	0	1	0
Baskets for mess-bread, six, at fourpence	0	2	0
Beer cans, bigger and lesser, twelve	0	6	0
Taps and fawcets, four or five	0	0	2
Wooden Butter scales, a pair	0	1	0
Leaden weights, 4lbs., 2lbs., 1lb., ½lb., and ¼lb., at twopence [*per lb.*]	0	1	4
Tinder boxes, two, well furnished	0	2	6
Candles, at most for 16 weeks, 30lbs., at fourpence	0	10	0
Candlesticks, with iron wires, six, at eightpence... £	0	4	0
A Candlebox, with lock and key, at most	0	5	0
		£5	8 0

Carpenter's Store.

	£	s.	d.	
IRON essles to mend the shroud chains withal, if any should chance to break; ten, of 1lb. a piece, at fourpence a pound	0	3	4	
Fids or Hammers, two, at twelve-pence	0	2	0	
Orlop nails, three hundred, at sixteen-pence a hundred	0	4	0	
Scupper nails, two hundred, at sixpence	0	1	0	
Spikes, five pounds, at fourpence a lb.	0	1	8	
Sixpenny nails, three hundred [at sixpence a hundred]	0	1	6	
Fourpenny nails, three hundred [at fourpence a hundred]	0	1	0	
Pump nails, three hundred, at twopence a hundred	0	0	6	
A saw...	0	3	0	
				£0 18 0

Weapons.

HALF pikes, ten, at two shillings [each] ...	1	0	0	
Muskets, with bandaleers, rests, and moulds, six [at one pound each] ...	6	0	0	
Gunpowder, six lbs. at tenpence	0	5	0	
Leaden bullets, six lbs. at threepence ...	0	1	6	
				£7 6 6

Nets with their appurtenances.

THE BUSS aforesaid must have fifty nets.

Each Net must be thirty yards; that is, fifteen fathoms long upon the rope.

Each net must also hang full, and not stretched on the rope. Therefore each net before it come to be fastened to the rope; (being stretched out) must be thirty-five yards.

Each net must be in depth, seven deepings.

Each deeping must be a fathom, that is two yards, deep. So as each net of seven deepings takes seven times thirty-five yards of line or netting (of sixty masks or mashes [*meshes*] or holes deep), which comes to just 245 yards of Lint or Netting, of a fathom breadth or depth.

	£	s.	d.
Which 245 yards of Lint or Netting (ready made or knit) will cost three pence a yard; which comes to for one net	3	1	3

Each net must have a Net Rope on the top of the net; so each net must have fifteen fathoms of net rope.

This net rope must not be a stiffed-tarred rope, but lithe and gentle [*supple*]; and is best made of old ropes.

This 15 fathom of net rope for each net will cost two shillings	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Round about the head and two sides of each net, but not at the bottom, must be set a small cord, about the bigness of a bow-string, which is called [the] Head-Roping or Nostelling.			
So each net takes 15 fathoms; and 7 fathoms and 7 fathoms: which comes to 29 fathoms of head-roping.			
There is twenty fathoms of this head-roping in a pound weight of it. So each net takes almost a pound and a half of this head-roping: which is sold for sixpence a pound. So the pound and a half costeth	0	0	9
The seven deepings of each net are to to be sewn, each to [the] other, altogether, with a small thread called, Twine Masking [? *Meshing*].			
Each net takes a pound of this twine-masking, which is sold for	0	0	6
Each net is to be fastened to her ropes with short pieces of cords or lines, of two feet long a piece, called Nozzels.			
These nozzels are tied very thick, viz., at four meshes or holes asunder. So each net takes 150 nozzels.			
These nozzels are sold, ready cut, for eightpence a hundred. So 150 nozzels will cost	0	1	0
Each net must have a rope five or six fathoms long and an inch through, that is, three inches and better about, called a Seazing, to fasten the net unto the War-rope. This rope will cost fourpence a fathom. So, for the said six fathom	0	2	0
The Seaming or Sewing together of the said seven deepings of each net, and the head-roping of each net as aforesaid, and the bringing of each net to the rope or setting on the nozzels, all this, I say, is usually done by a woman, working it at fourpence a day [with] meat and drink; or tenpence a day, at most, finding herself. Which woman will so despatch, at least, two or three nets in a day. So each net so finishing, will cost, at most	0	0	5
Every net must be tanned in a tan-fat, which will cost, at most,	0	0	10

Nets, War-ropes, &c.

ALL THE said fifty nets being finished, must be hanged all arow [*in a row*] upon a strong large rope, called a War-rope; which must be in bigness four inches about. This War-rope must be as long as all the said fifty nets; that is, fifty times fifteen fathoms long, that is 750 fathoms of War-rope.

So each net taketh up fifteen fathoms of War-rope. A cwt., that is, 112 lbs., of this rope is sold for, at most, thirty shillings; that is, almost 3¼d. a pound.

	£	s.	d.
A hundred fathoms of this rope will weigh nearly four cwt. At which rate, each fathom will weigh almost 4½ lbs.; which at 3¼d. a pound, will cost 14½d. a fathom.			
So for each net, 15 fathoms at 14½d. will cost	0	18	2
Each net must have half-a-pound of Leghorn Cork placed all along the net, at half a yard asunder. At which distance, each net takes sixty corks or sixty half pounds of cork, that is, 30 lbs. of cork at twopence halfpenny a pound (*i.e.*, £1 3s. 4d. a hundredweight), will cost	0	6	3
Those sixty corks must have sixty Cork-bands to tie them to the net. Each cork-band must be a fathom long.			
These cork-bands are made of the aforesaid Head-roping Line, whereof twenty fathoms weigh a pound, as aforesaid.			
So the said sixty fathoms will weigh 3 lbs. which at sixpence a pound will cost	0	1	6
For every two nets, there must be a Pynboll or Bwy hooped, which will cost eightpence. So to each net allow for half a Pynboll or Bwy	0	0	4
Each Pynboll or Bwy must have a rope of a yard long, to fasten it to the War-rope, which yard of rope will cost, at most, sixpence. So to each net allow for half such a rope	0	0	3
So it appears, by the particulars aforesaid, that each Net with War-ropes and all other appurtenances, will cost	4	15	3
And so the said fifty nets, at £4 15s. 3d. a piece, will cost in all	£238	2	6

Tools and Implements used in drying and packing of Herring[s].

	£	s.	d.
GIPPING or Gilling knives, 24, at fourpence...	0	8	0
Roaring baskets or scuttles, 24, at sixpence	0	12	0
Addesses, for Cooper's work, 6, at two shillings	0	12	0
Drifts, to beat down hoops, 12, at one penny ...	0	1	0
Irons, to pull up barrel heads, 6, at fourpence ...	0	2	0
Iron pipes, to blow and try casks whether they be tight or not, 3, at eightpence	0	2	0
Bended hoops to supply such as shall chance to break or fly off. For a hundred Last, that is, 1,200 barrels; 2,400 hoops, at two shillings a hundred	2	8	0

	£	s.	d.	
Iron marks or letters to braud the barrels withal, viz., A.B. for the best; S. for the second; W. for the worst; at eightpence a piece, at most ...	0	2	0	
				£4 7 0

Caske.

HERRING barrels, an hundred Last, that is 1,200 barrels, which containeth 32 gallons a piece: will cost fifteen shillings a Last, that is, fifteenpence a piece; which cometh to £75 0 0

Salt.

WATER Bushel (that is, five pecks) of Spanish salt, will salt a barrel of herrings.

So to salt the said hundred Last, or 1,200 barrels of Herrings, must be 1,200 [water] bushels of salt, that is, (at forty [water] bushels of salt to a Wey) just thirty Wey of salt: which, at 40 shillings a Wey, that is, twelvepence a bushel, will cost £60 0 0

Memorandum.

A FLEMISH Buss doth often take seven or eight Last of herrings in a day. But if GOD gave a Buss, one day with another, but two Last of herrings a day, that is, twelve Last of herrings in a week; then, at that rate, a Buss may take, dress, and pack the said whole Proportion of a hundred Last of herrings (propounded to be hoped for), in eight weeks and two days.

And yet is herein[after] allowance made for victuals and wages for sixteen weeks, as after followeth.

Of which sixteen weeks time, if there be spent in rigging and furnishing the said Buss to sea, and in sailing from her port to her fishing-place; if these businesses, I say, spend two weeks of the time, and that the other two weeks be also spent in returning to her port after her fishing season, and in unrigging and laying up the Buss: then I say (of the sixteen weeks above allowed for) there will be twelve weeks to spend only in fishing the herring.

Victuals and fuel for Sixteen men and boys, serving in the Buss aforesaid, for the herring-fishing time, and the time of her setting out and of her return home, viz., from the 24th of May until the 21st of September, which is 112 days; that is, sixteen weeks; that is, four months.

BEER. O ALLOW for every man and boy, a gallon of beer a day (which is the allowance made in the King's ships), that is, for the said sixteen persons, sixteen gallons: that is, just half a herring barrel full, a day. That is, for the whole voyage, or sixteen weeks, or 112 days, fifty-six [of] such barrels of beer. Seven of these herring barrels contain a tun of beer: so as the said 56 herring barrels full of beer do make just eight tun of beer, which, at 40s. a tun, comes to... £ 16 s. 0 d. 0

BISCUIT. To allow for every man and boy (as in His Majesty's ships), a pound of biscuit a day; that is, for every man and boy for the said four months or 112 days, an cwt. of biscuit. That is, for the said 16 persons, 16 cwt. of biscuit, which at 13s. 4d. a cwt. will come to 10 13 4

OATMEAL *or* PEASE. To allow, amongst the said sixteen persons, a gallon a day, that is, half a pint a piece, every day: that is, 112 gallons for them all, for the said 112 days or four months; which comes to just 14 bushels, which, at 4s. a bushel, will cost 2 16 0

BACON. To allow also for each man and boy, two pounds of bacon for four meals a week; that is, for each person for the said sixteen weeks, 32 lbs.; that is four stone of bacon. And so for the said sixteen persons, 64 stone of bacon; which, at 2s. 2d. a stone, will come to 6 18 8

FRESH FISH. They may take, daily, out of the sea, as much fresh fish as they can eat.

BUTTER. To allow every man and boy (to butter their fish, or otherwise to eat, as they like) a quarter of a pound of butter a day, that is, for each person 28 lbs. of butter, which is half a firkin of Suffolk butter. And so for the said sixteen men, eight firkins of butter, at 20s. the firkin... ... ... 8 0 0

CHEESE. To allow every of the said sixteen men and boys, half a pound of Holland cheese a day; that is, for each person 56 lbs., that is, half a hundredweight of cheese. And so for the said sixteen persons to allow eight cwt. of Holland

	£	s.	d.
cheese: which at twopence halfpenny the pound; that is, 23s. 4d. the hundredweight, will cost... ...	9	6	8
VINEGAR. To allow amongst the said sixteen persons, three pints of Vinegar a day; that is, for the said 112 days, 42 gallons; that is, a tierce of vinegar, which at £6 the Tun, caske and all, will cost	1	0	0
FUEL. To allow for the dressing and boiling of their victuals, eight hundred of Kentish faggots, that is, seven faggots a day, and sixteen faggots over in the whole time: which 800 of faggots, at 8s. a hundred, comes to	3	4	0
SUM of all the said four months' Victuals is			£57 18 8

I am informed that the Dutch Busses have not half so much allowance of victuals; but take almost all theirs out of the sea.

Physic and Surgery helps.

SPERMACETI, and a box for it	0	3	4
Stone pitch, and a box for it	0	1	4
Aquavitæ, 16 quarts are 4 gallons, at three shillings	0	12	0
Zante Oil, 16 pints are 2 gallons, at six shillings	0	12	0
Honey, 16 pints are 2 gallons, at five shillings ...	0	10	0
Sugar, 4 pounds at one shilling	0	4	0
Nutmegs, a quarter of a pound	0	1	0
Ginger, half a pound	0	0	6
Pepper, 16 oz., that is, a pound	0	2	0
Balsam and other salves, and old linen	0	10	0
Syzers [*scissors*] a pair	0	0	6
A steel Pleget, to spread plaisters	0	1	4
A Chest, with partitions, for all these things ...	0	12	0
			£3 10 0

Wages to sixteen men.

TO A Master for the said four months at £5 a month; that is, £1 5s. 0d. a week, or 4s. 2d. a day for six days, or 3s. 6¾d. a day for seven days	20	0	0
To two Mates, at 24s. a month, a piece	9	12	0
To six other men, at 20s. a piece, per month	24	0	0
To six other men, at 16s. a piece, per month ...	19	4	0
To a boy, at 6s., a month...	1	4	0
			£74 0 0

Sum of all the Stock and Charge of one entire Buss, &c., the First Year will be about ... ——— **£934 5 8**

The difference or odds between the Charge and the Adventure.

IT appears before, in particulars, that a new Buss, with her nets and other appurtenances, together with all the First Year's charge of salt, caske, victuals, wages, &c., will come to... **£ 934 s. 5 d. 8**

But it is to be observed, that the Owner and Adventurer of such a Buss shall not be out of purse, nor Adventure so much money the said First Year by **171 10 0**

For the Wages aforesaid are never paid till the return of the Ship or Buss, which if it should never return (as GOD forbid!), then are no wages paid. So Wages is part of the Charge, but no part of the Adventure. And so the wages is spared from the Adventure, which comes to, as before in particulars... ... ... **£74**

Also, it must be observed, that the Buss can conveniently stow at once but 34 Last of Caske, which is but the Third part of her said hundred Last in Charge; and so is also spared from the Adventure, Two-thirds of her Caske, which is 66 Last of caske, which, at 15s., comes to... **£49 10s.**

Likewise, the Buss cannot conveniently stow, at once, above ten Weys of salt; which is but a Third part of her Salt, in Charge. And so is also spared from the Adventure, Two-thirds of her said salt, which is twenty Weys of salt, which at 40s. a Wey comes to... ... ... **£40**

Neither can the Buss conveniently stow, at once, above one-half of her said 8 Tuns of beer, in Charge. And so also is spared from the Adventure the one-half of her said beer, which is four Tuns, which at 40s. a Tun comes to **£8**

Total spared from the Adventure ——— **171 10 0**

Which **£171 10s.** being deducted out of the said charge of **£934 5s. 8d.**; there resteth to be Adventured the First Year, only **762 15 8**

The First Year's Gain, in hope and likelihood.

BOUT a month after the Busses are gone out to sea, a Yager (which is a caravel or a merchant's ship employed to seek out the said Herring Busses, and to buy of them their herrings upon the first packing); this Yager, I say, whereof divers are so employed, comes to the said Buss, amongst others, and buys all such herrings as she hath barrelled: which barrels, upon the first packing, are called *Sticks*. And, in part of payment for her said Herring Sticks, delivers such salt, caske, hoops, nets, beer, and other necessaries as the Buss shall then want; wherewith the said Yager comes always furnished. The rest, the said Yager pays in ready money to the Bussman.

In this manner, comes the Yager to the Busses, two or three times or oftener, in a Summer Herring fishing time. So as the said Yager buys of the said Buss (if GOD give them to the Buss) all her said hundred Last of Herring Sticks.

For which said hundred Last of Herring Sticks;

if the Yager do pay but after the rate of £10 a Last, that is, 16s. 8d. a barrel, then are the said hundred Last of Herring Sticks sold for just **£1,000 0 0**

So (by the grace and blessing of GOD) the very First Year's herrings only, may bring in to the Adventurer or Owner; all his whole both of Stock and Charges of **£934 5s. 8d.** aforesaid.

And also **£65 14s. 4d.** over and above.

And so the said Adventurer or Buss master is like, by GOD's blessing, to gain clearly the very First Year, the Buss aforesaid, with all her apparel and furniture, together with her nets, &c.: and **£65 14s. 4d.** in money over and above, towards the use or interest of the said **£762 15s. 8d.**, which the said Adventurer disburseth the First Year, out of purse. Which is almost **£9** in the hundred, also for use [*interest*].

The Second Year's Charge.

	£	s.	d.
CAULKING or carrying [*careening*] the said Buss, yearly, will cost about...	5	0	0
Repairing the tacklings (which cost at first £12, as before [*p.* 626])	6	0	0
Repairing the sails (which cost at first £20 10s. od. [*p.* 627])	10	0	0
Repairing the pulleys, shivers, and other petty things, about	1	0	0
Repairing the cables (which cost at first £81 [*p.* 627]), about	24	0	0
Towards the reparation of the anchors (which cost at first £18 [*p.* 628]) allow	3	0	0
Repairing the Carpenter's store (which cost at first 15s. [*p.* 629]) about	0	12	0
Repairing the Steward's store (which cost at first £5 8s. od.) about, at most	2	8	0
Renewing shot and powder, and scouring the muskets, &c., about	0	10	0
Repairing of nets with the appurtenances, with fifty new deepings, and a hundred fathom of war-rope, &c. (which cost first, as before in particulars, £238 2s. 6d. [*pp.* 629–631], the third part whereof is just £79 7s. 6d.), [say]	77	0	0
Renewing of tools to dress and pack herrings withal (which cost at first £4 5s. od. [*p.* 631])	2	0	0
Renewing the whole hundred Last of caske, at 15s. [a last]	75	0	0
Renewing the whole thirty Weys of salt, at 40s....	60	0	0
Renewing the whole proportion of victuals aforesaid	57	18	8
Renewing part of the physic and surgery helps (which cost at first £3 10s. od. [*p.* 634])	1	11	4
Wages, as at the first	74	0	0

	£	s.	d.
The SUM total of the Charge of the Second Year's herring fishing, will be, as appears, about ... ... ———	400	0	0
But the Second Year's Adventure and Disbursement will be the less than the said Charge (as it was for the First Year) by	171	10	0
And so the Second Year's Adventure will be only about	228	10	0
Towards which Adventure and Charge, there is before accompted to be gotten in money by the First Year's herring fishing, as before appears	65	14	4
So then the Second Year's Charge, beside the said £65 14s. 4d. before gained, will be but	334	5	8
But the said Second Year's Adventure, besides the said Gain, will be but	162	15	8

So it appears, that if the Buss be only employed in fishing the herring, and in that but only four months in every year; and that the Buss lie still in her own port all the rest of the year, yet she gains clearly every year, in that four months only, the sum of **£600**: if GOD give her in that time but the said hundred Last of herrings, which being sold at £10 the last, yield **£1,000**; out of which, deducting the gained said Second Year's Charge of **£400**, there resteth as clearly **£600** yearly by the said Buss.

MEMORANDUM.

If the Adventurer of a Buss will also hire a Yager by the Last, to take in his herrings and carry them into Dantsic, Melvyn, Sweathland [Sweden], *France, or elsewhere: then the Charge and Gain of that course will be as followeth or thereabouts, viz.:*

YOU MAY HIRE a Caravel or other Merchant's ship, for a Yager, to carry our herrings from the Buss into Dantsic, Melvyn, &c.; and to stay there for relading 14 or 20 days, and then to bring back to London such wares or merchandise as you shall there freight her withal. For which fraught [*freight*] outward, and stay there, and fraught home back again; the said ship will have, at most £2 10s. 0d. a Last, this is, 25s. a tun, in and out. So the fraught of a hundred Last of herrings into Dantsic and the fraught of another hundred Last of pitch, hemp, flax, or corn, &c., back again to London, will cost, at most, at £2 10s. 0d. 250 0 0

The TOLL at Elsmore will cost, out and in, about... 3 0 0

I think no CUSTOM [DUTY] is paid for herrings in the East Country, yet suppose for custom, four shillings a Last, that is fourpence a barrel; at which rate, the hundred Last of Sticks comes to 20 0 0

For CRANAGE there, allow at most one shilling a

£ s. d

	£	s.	d.
Last; which for the said hundred Last of herrings is	5	0	0
For WHARFAGE there, allow also after the rate of twelve-pence a Last	5	0	0
For WAREHOUSE-ROOM there, till the herrings be sold, allow, at most	2	0	0
The repacking of the herrings by the sworn Coopers of that place, and for new hooping seventy-five Last of caske, which will be filled with the said hundred Last of Herring Sticks, allowing twenty-five Last, that is, a fourth part of the hundred Last, to be shrunk away. That 75 Last, repacking and hooping, at most, at 8s. a Last, will cost	30	0	0
SUM, which never goes out of purse, but is paid when the herrings are sold...	**315**	**0**	**0**
So if the said hundred Last of herrings, so sent from the Buss to Dantzic, do shrink a fourth part; then will rest to be sold in Dantzic, Melvyn, &c., seventy-five Last full of repacked herrings. Which seventy-five Last will be there sold, for, at least, £18 12s. 0d. a Last, that is, 31s. a barrel: which is 4s. 1d. a hundred; which is more than two and a half herrings a penny, by 7 herrings in a hundred. And so the seventy-five Last of herrings will be sold for	**1395**	**0**	**0**

Which is for the herrings	£1000	0	0
And for the freight in and out ...	315	0	0
And so is gained, outward only	**80**	**0**	**0**
	1395	**0**	**0**

Besides, there may well be gained, by the return of **£139** worth of corn or other merchandise, at least **£120** more.

[*Note, this profit is gained on only One Hundred Last; being one-tenth of the proposed annual catch of the Buss.*]

[*Cod and Ling fishing.*]

BESIDES the said herring fishing which is performed in four months, as aforesaid, the same Buss may be also employed the same year, presently [*immediately*] after the said herring season, in fishing for Cod and Ling.

For the herring fishing being begun yearly, as before is shewed, about the 24th of May, and the Buss being returned home again about the 21st of September, which is sixteen weeks after: then the said Buss and her men may rest in port about ten weeks, viz., from the 21st of September until St. Andrew's tide [30 *November*], or the 1st of December after, and then set sail again; furnished with hooks, lines, salt, caske, and all other things (hereinafter particularly mentioned) needful for the winter cod fishing: which may, by GOD's blessing, be despatched, and the Buss be at home again in her own port, by the 1st of March, which is thirteen weeks after, that is, ninety-one days.

And so between the said 1st of March and the 24th of May, which is just eight weeks, the said Buss may be carined [*careened*] or caulked, and repaired, victualled and provided of all things against the Second or next Year's herring fishing. And so is the whole year ended and spent as aforesaid.

Now the charges of the said first Cod fishing in the Buss aforesaid, with the sixteen men and boys aforesaid, during the aforesaid time of thirteen weeks, or ninety-one days, will be as followeth, thus :—

Tools and Implements.

	£	s.	d.
EACH MAN fishing for Cod and Ling useth at once two KIP-HOOKS. So sixteen men may use at once 32 of those hooks. But because they lose their hooks sometimes, therefore allow for every of the men a dozen hooks, that is 16 dozen of Kiphooks : which, at most, will cost twelve-pence a dozen, that is ...	0	16	0
STRINGS, for each man, six : that is, for the sixteen men, eight dozen of strings. Every string must be fifty fathom long, and about the bigness of a jack-line ; and it must be tanned. Every such string will cost about twelve-pence : and so, the said 8 dozen of strings will cost	4	16	0
CHOPSTICKS, for every man, four, is in all 64 chopsticks. A chopstick is an iron about the bigness of a curtain rod, and a yard long ; and, upon this iron, is a hollow pipe of lead, eight or nine inches long, and weighs about 4 lbs., and the iron weighs about a pound. Which iron and lead will cost about twelve-pence a piece : so 64 chopsticks at 12d. will cost	3	4	0
For every man, two GARFANGLE-HOOKS. Total, 32 Garfangle-hooks. This Garfangle-hook is an ashen plant six or eight feet long ; with an iron hook, like a boat hook, at the end of it. One of these Garfangle-hooks will cost sixpence, so the 32 Garfangle-hooks will cost...	0	16	0
Four HEADING KNIVES, like Chopping knives, at twelve-pence	0	4	0
Four SPLITTING KNIVES, like Mincing knives, at twelve-pence	0	4	0
Six GUTTING KNIVES, at fourpence ...	0	2	0
A GRINDSTONE and TROUGH	0	5	0
WHETSTONES, two or three	0	3	0
Some of the old herring nets, to get herrings to bait their hooks. Or else to buy a hogshead full of Lampris [*lampreys*], which are the best bait for			

	£	s.	d.	
cod and ling. There is store of Lamprils to be had at Woolwich, Norwich, and Hull; which may cost about	2	10	0	
BASKETS, some of those before bought and used for the dressing of herrings, and twelve other great baskets at 2s. 6d. a piece	1	10	0	
				£14 10 0

Caske.

FOR BARRELLED Cod, to provide thirty-five Last of barrels; which are the very same, every way, with the herring barrels aforesaid. So the said 35 Last of caske, at 15s. the last will cost 26 5 0

As for the Lings (in hope) there is no caske used for them; but they are only salted and packed one upon another in the ship's hold. And if they take any ling they bring home the less cod; and then also, they save some of the said caske.

Salt.

EACH barrel of Cod will take a bushel of "salt upon salt" [*Vol. II., p.* 143]. So the thirty-five Last of Cod aforesaid takes just 420 bushels of "salt upon salt," that is, ten Weys and an half of salt, which at £3 a Wey, that is, eighteenpence a bushel, will cost 31 10 0

Physic and Surgery Helps.

TO ALLOW as before is allowed [see *p.* 634] for the herring-fishing time; which (besides the Chest) will cost, as before in particulars 2 18 0

THE Steward's store and Carpenter's store aforesaid, will serve this voyage. So for them needeth no allowance £60 13 0

Victuals and Fuel.

For sixteen men and boys to serve in the said Buss for the said cod-fishing time, and the time of setting out, and [of] return home, viz., from about the first of December unto the first of March, which is just thirteen weeks, that is, ninety-one days.

BEER. O ALLOW every person a gallon of beer a day (as in the King's ships), that is, for the said sixteen persons, 16 gallons, that is, just half a herring barrel a day, that is, for the whole voyage 91 half barrels; that is, almost 46 of those herring barrels. Seven of these herring barrels contain a Tun of beer, so as the said 46 barrels contain six tun and a half of beer; which, at 40s. a tun will cost ... ... £ 13 s. 0 d. 0

BISCUIT. To allow for every person (as in His Majesty's ships) a pound of Biscuit a day, that is, for all the said sixteen persons, 112 lbs. (that is, an hundred weight) of Biscuit a week; that is, for the said thirteen weeks, 13 cwt. of Biscuit; which at 13s. 4d. a cwt. will cost 8 13 4

PEASE. To allow for every person half a pint of peas a day (to be watered, and eaten with butter, or else with bacon) that is, a gallon a day amongst them all; that is, in all 91 gallons, that is, eleven bushels and a peck and a half of peas; which, at 4s. a bushel, will cost 2 5 6

BACON. To allow for every person two pounds of bacon a week, for four meals in every week, that is, for the said sixteen persons, 32 lbs.; that is, 4 stone of bacon a week amongst them all, that is, for the said thirteen weeks, 52 stone of bacon; which, at 2s. 2d. a stone, will cost 5 12 8

FRESH FISH. They may take daily out of the sea as much as they can eat. ...

BUTTER. To allow every person a quarter of a pound of butter a day, that is, 4 lbs. of butter a day amongst them all. So for the said thirteen weeks or ninety-one days, must be 364 lbs. of butter; that is, just six firkins and a half of Suffolk butter; which, at twenty shillings a firkin, will cost 6 10 0

CHEESE. To allow every person half a pound of Holland cheese a day; that is, 8 lbs. a day among them all. So for the said thirteen weeks

	£	s.	d	
or ninety-one days, 728 lbs. of cheese; this is, 6½ cwt. of Holland cheese; which at 2½d. pound (that is, £1 3s. 4d. the cwt.), will cost	7	11	8	
VINEGAR. To allow amongst them all three pints of vinegar a day, that is, for the said ninety-one days almost thirty-four gallons. Allow a tierce [36 gallons] which at £6 a tun, cask and all, will cost	1	0	0	
FUEL. To allow also eight Kentish faggots a day, which for the said ninety-one days will come to seven hundred and a quartern of faggots, which at eight shillings a hundred will cost	2	18	0	
SUM of all the said thirteen weeks' Victuals and Fuel, will come to, as appears...				£47 11 2

Wages.

TO A Master, for these thirteen weeks, at £5 a month, that is, 25s. a week, is	16	5	0	
To two Mates at 24s. a month, that is, six shillings a week a piece, is for both	7	16	0	
To six other men at 20s. a piece per month, is five shillings a week a piece	19	10	0	
To six other men at 16s. a piece per month, is four shillings a week a piece	15	12	0	
To the boy at 6s. a month, that is, eighteenpence a week	0	19	6	
				£60 2 6

[The] Sum of all the Charge of the First winter's Cod fishing will be, as before in particulars, about **£182 16 8**

But here is to be remembered that the wages is no part of the Adventure, though it be part of the Charge. And so the Adventure shall be out of purse, for this First Codfishing voyage but, only, at most... ... ... **£122 4 2**

Now if it please G O D in this Voyage to afford unto this Buss the filling of her said caske, that is thirty-five Last of Cod only: that Cod will

yield at least 20s. a barrel, that is, but £12 a Last. So the said 35 Last, will yield at least	£420 0 0
Of the livers of those thirty-five Last of fish, may well be made five Tun of train oil [*what is now called unpurified Cod's Liver Oil*] worth at least £12 a tun; that is but twelve-pence a gallon. At which rate, five Tun of oil will yield...	60 0 0
So, by the blessing of GOD, this Codfishing, may bring in to the Adventurer, as before in particulars, just	£480 0 0
Out of which **£480**, deduct the Charge abovesaid of	182 16 8
And then resteth to be cleared, yearly, by the Cod fishing	£297 3 4

And so it appears that there may be gained, yearly, by one Herring fishing and one Cod fishing, in such a Buss, the sum of £897 3s. 4d.; all Charges borne; and without any Stock after the First year.

BY THAT which is before set down, it appeareth, that one Adventurer or divers Partners, buying or building, and furnishing such a Buss, and adventuring her to sea as aforesaid, shall disburse before and in the first Herring voyage, the sum of **£762 15s. 8d.** out of purse.

And that the same **£762 15s. 8d.** is clearly inned again, together with all other charges; and **£65 14s. 4d.** over and above, within less than a year: and so the Buss, with her nets and furniture, and the said **£65 14s. 4d.** in money, is gained clearly the First Voyage.

And that if the Buss do also, that year, make a Cod fishing voyage, as aforesaid; then I say, within the space of the said First Year, the Adventurer or the said Partners shall have all their Stocks into their purse again as aforesaid, and shall also have in purse gained clearly the said First Year, **£362 17s. 8d.**: which Gain is more than is to be disbursed the Second Year in repairing the said Buss, with her appurtenances, &c.; and also in furnishing her with new herring cask, salt, victuals, &c., for the Second Year's fishing.

And that the said Adventurer or Partners, after the said First Year, shall never be out of purse any money at all. But that the First Year's clear Gain will stock him or them so sufficiently for the use of this Buss, as by the same, they may get clearly after the said First Year, by two such voyages in that Buss, yearly, over and above all charges, **£897 3s. 4d.**

And that if the said Adventurer or Partners will make but only one Herring voyage yearly, then by that one only Herring voyage yearly, the said Buss may get clearly *per annum*, as is before declared, **£600**, over and above all Charges.

CONFESS the private gain to every Undertaker before propounded may seem too great to be hoped for. But before any conclude so, let them read the Proclamation concerning this business made by those thriving States of the United Provinces of the Low Countries: and let them consider what should move those States in that public Proclamation, to call this herring fishing the "chiefest trade and principal gold mine" of those United Provinces, and to show such jealousy, and provide so very for the preservation thereof; if the gain thereby were not *exceedingly* great and extraordinary.

And for myself, I say that I know that "no man may do evil, that good may come of it": therefore I would not devise a lie to persuade any to a work how good soever, nor commend that to others, which my own heart were not first strongly persuaded to be commendable. Yet, as I deny not but that I may err in some of so many particulars; so I disdain not, but rather desire to see such errors, honestly and fairly corrected by any that (out of more skill, and desire of perfecting and furthering this good work) shall find out any such errors.

And whether this fishery be necessary for the common wealth or no, let the present condition and estate of our shipping and mariners, sea towns, and coasts, which (as the means) should be the walls and strength of this Islandish Monarchy; I say, let them speak! I will say no more to this point, as well for other reasons as also because this matter is but for a few, alas: namely for those only that prefer the common wealth to their own private [gains]; and they are wise, and a word is enough for such.

If any be so weak to think this mechanical fisher-trade not feasible to the English people; to them, I may say, with Solomon, "Go to the pismire [*ant*]!" Look upon the Dutch! Thou sluggard! learn of them! They do it daily in the sight of all men at our own doors; upon our own coasts. But some will needs fear a lion in every way; because they will employ their talents no way, but lie unprofitably at home always.

The difficulties that Unwillingness hath objected, consist in Want of Men, of Nets, of Caske, of Timber and Plank, of Utterance of Sale, and of the fear of the Pirates. Of every of which, a word or two.

THE sixteen men and boys before admitted to serve in the said Buss may be these, viz.: — A Master, a Mate, four ordinary sailors and four fishermen. There are ten. And then six landsmen and boys to be trained up by the ten former men in the Art of Sailing, and Craft of Fishery. By which means, every Buss shall be a seminary of sailors and fishers also, for so shall every Buss breed and make six new mariners; and so every hundred Busses breed six hundred new mariners to serve in such other Busses as shall be afterwards built: which is also no small addition to the strength of this State.

Mariners. Now if there were one hundred Busses presently to be built, I would make no doubt (hard as the world goes) but before they could be fitted for the sea, there may be gathered up about the coast towns of His Majesty's dominions, at least an hundred able Masters to take charge of them, and another hundred of mariners to go with them as their Mates, and four hundred sailors to serve under the said hundred Masters. That is in all but 600 mariners and sailors. For I find in the 35th page of *England's Way to Win Wealth* (the author whereof was a Yarmouth man) that, the last winter but one, "there were in that one town of Yarmouth three hundred

idle men that could get nothing to do, living poor for lack of employment, who most gladly would have gone to sea in Pinks, if there had been any for them to go in." I have reported his own words.

Fishermen. And for the four hundred fishermen to serve in the hundred Busses, they would soon be furnished [*obtained*] out of those poor fishers in small boats, as trawles, cobbles, &c., which fish all about the coasts: which poor men by those small vessels can hardly get their bread, and therefore would hold it as a great preferment to be called into such Busses where they may have meat, drink, and wages, as before is liberally propounded for such. Besides which, if need be, there are too too many [*far too many*] of those pernicious Trinkermen, who with trinker-boats destroy the river of Thames, by killing the fry and small fish there, even all that comes to net, before it be either meat or marketable. Which Trinkermen (if they will not offer themselves) may, by order and authority of our State, be compelled to give over that evil, and to follow this good trade.

Landsmen for a Seminary. But for the said six hundred landmen to serve in these hundred Busses we need not study where to find them; if such should not seek for service in these Busses, the very streets of London and the suburbs will soon shew and afford them, if it were so many thousand [required], I think. Idle vagrants so extremely swarm there, as all know. So much for men.

Nets. Nets will be the hardest matter to provide at the first; yet, I understand that the beforenamed knight, Sir WILLIAM HARVEY, had in a few weeks or months, provided all his nets for his great Buss. And myself was offered nets for half a dozen Busses, if I would have had them last summer; and if there were now a hundred Busses in building, I am informed of one that will undertake to furnish them with nets. And after these Busses shall once be seen; many for their own gain will provide for hemp, twine, and all necessaries to the making of nets enough. And doubtless Scotland and Ireland will presently afford good help in this behalf.

Caske. Caske will be plentifully served by Scotland and Ireland, [even] though we should make none of English timber.

Timber and Plank. And for all the great and pitiful waste of our English woods; yet will England afford timber and plank enough for many Busses: but, to spare England a while, Ireland will yield us Busses enough, besides many other good ships, if need be; and Scotland will help us with masts. But if we would spare so near home, we may help ourselves out of Virginia and Sommer Islands [*the Bermudas*]. I wis [*think*] the Dutch, who have no materials in any dominions of their own, have made harder and dearer shifts for their multitudes of ships of all sorts. If they had shifted off the building of ships, because they had no timber or other shipping stuff of their own in their own lands, what a poor, naked, servile people had that free people been, ere this day?

Utterance or Sale. Touching Utterance and Sale of Herrings, when we shall have them; I am informed that there is yearly uttered and spent in His Majesty's own dominions, at least 10,000 Last [= 120,000 *barrels*] of herrings: which, being served by ourselves, will keep in the land abundance of treasure, which the Dutch yearly carry out for the herrings, which they catch on our own coasts, and sell to us. Now if such a Buss, as aforesaid, get yearly a hundred Last of Herrings as aforesaid, then an hundred Busses, taking yearly a hundred Last a piece, do take in all 10,000 Last of herrings. So then His Majesty's own dominions will utter all the herrings which the hundred Busses shall take in a year. And then if we shall have five hundred Busses more; I am persuaded we may, in France and in Dantsic and in other foreign parts, have as good and ready sale for them, as the Dutch have for theirs: for I hear that the Dutch could yearly utter double so many as they do sell, if they had them. But if that should not be so, surely it were too great poverty for English minds (like horses that know not their strength) to fear to set foot by the Dutch or any other people under heaven: or to fear to speed worse in any market or place than they, and yet not be driven to beat down the markets either, except the Dutch should prove more froward and fond that I can yet mistrust; but if they should, I will not be persuaded to think, but that the worser part would fall out to their share, at last.

If there will be employment but for a thousand Busses, methinks, they should thank us (as for many other benefits,

so for this) we may be contented that they share with us, by using only five hundred Busses; and to fish friendly in consort, as it were, with other five hundred Busses of ours. But if they should allege that they now having a thousand, shall have in that case no employment for the other five hundred: why then, perhaps, we may in friendly manner cope [*bargain*] with them, and buy of them the other five hundred of the said Busses.

I thank GOD! I neither hate, nor envy the Dutch. Nay, for good and due respects, I prefer them to all other foreign nations in my love: and they acknowledging us, as they ought, we shall, I hope, do them no wrong; and they must do us right.

I have herein been longer than I meant to be, only because there came even now to my mind some reports that I have heard, but do not believe, of very foul and insolent dealing of their Buss men with our poor weak fishermen upon our coasts. But if it were true, as I doubt it at least, yet I would not hate nor speak evil of a whole State for the saucy presumptions of a particular man or of a few men; and those perhaps provoked thereto by our own Double Beer of England.

Pirates and Enemies. It is too true that all seas are too full of pirates, and that amongst them (which we have great cause to lament) our English abound; who are too ready to justify their lewd [*wicked*] errors, with the want of employment. It is true also, that men are not to get their living by sinful violence and unlawful courses: yet I would that they were stript of that colour and pretence; which a good fleet of Busses would do. Besides such a fleet of Busses will, by GOD's grace, be soon able to maintain about them a guard of strong warlike ships well appointed to defend them; and in time of need also, to serve His Majesty, and offend his enemies. And such a guard will be very requisite: although GOD hath so laid and placed the herrings, as our Busses shall seldom need to lie, or to labour out of the sight of our own shores. So much of the facility.

Lastly, touching the use of this famous fisher-trade, I will only commend unto your considerations, that which is written thereof in all the four books before mentioned, namely in *The British Monarchy*, and HITCHCOCK's *New Year's Gift*, and in

England's Way to Win Wealth &c., and in *The Trade's Increase*. The Dutch have thereby, as by their only or chief means, curbed and bearded their adversaries. What then may we do by it, if GOD please; we, I say, to whom He hath vouchsafed multitudes of other helps (which Dutch-land hath not) to second this. This trade sets awork all their idle folks; and it keeps their gold and silver in their dominions, and multiplies it. And I see not why the same trade should not be of the same use to us.

OW ABOARD our Busses again! which once well established and followed, will, in short time, I hope, by GOD's blessing, set many ploughmen here on work to sow hemp or flax; both in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

2. And will convert our idle bellies, our beggars, our vagabonds and sharks into lusty hempbeaters, spinners, carders, rope-makers, networkers, coopers, smiths, shipwrights, caulkers, sawyers, sailors, fishermen, biscuit-bakers, weavers of poledavis, sailmakers, and other good labouring members.

3. And will more warrant and encourage our Magistrates to punish the idle, the sturdy beggar, and the thief; when these Busses shall find employment for those that will work.

4. And will be a means that the true poor, aged, and impotent shall be better and more plentifully, yet more easily and with less charges relieved; when only such shall stand at devotion, and no valiant rogues shall share in the alms of the charitable, as now they do.

5. And will help to bring every one to eat their own bread.

6. Yea, and will supply His Majesty's armies and garrisons in time of need with many lusty able men instead of our bare-breeched beggars, and nasty sharks; that are as unskilful and as unwilling to fight as to work.

7. And will keep and bring in abundance of gold and silver.

I know and confess that it is not in man to promise these, or any of them peremptorily; but all these are the evident effects of this fishery among the Dutch.

And therefore I may conclude, That we are to hope for like blessing by our like lawful and honest endeavours in this

Trade of fishery, which Almighty GOD hath brought home to our doors, to employ us in; whereby He also gives us a comfortable calling to the work.

TO BEGIN withal, if but some of our Noblemen and some of our gentry, and some citizens and others of ability, each man for himself, would speedily provide and employ at least one Buss a piece; so as some good store of Busses may, amongst them, in that manner, be speedily provided and employed to join with Sir WILLIAM HARVEY, who is already entered the field alone: no doubt but His Majesty will be pleased, at their humble suit, to encourage and incorporate them with privileges, immunities, and authority; and so they may choose amongst themselves, some meet officers and overseers, and make meet laws and orders for the due and seasonable taking, curing, packing, and selling of the said herrings, &c. As the French and Straits [of Gibraltar] Merchants, who being so incorporated, yet have every man his own ship or the ship he hires: and each man by himself or by his factor, goes out, returns, buys and sells, not transgressing the private laws and orders of their respective Companies.

But if, at the first entrance, there will [*shall*] not be any competent number of Busses so provided and adventured as abovesaid: if His Majesty will be pleased so to incorporate some fit for this work, and out of that Corporation, a sufficient Treasurer and other needful Officers be here chosen and made known; then may all that please, of whatsoever honest condition, bring in by a day to be assigned, what sum of money any shall like to Adventure herein, from £5 upwards. And when there shall be brought in £70,000 or £80,000; then presently the said Officers to provide an hundred Busses, which with that money will [*shall*] be royally built and furnished: and all their First Year's charge defrayed.

And as more Stock shall come in, so also more Busses to be provided and added to those former, &c. All which may be (as in the now East India Company) the Joint Stock and Busses of the Company.

Of which Joint Stock and Busses, every Adventurer according to the proportion of his said adventure may yearly know,

give, and receive his proportion; as shall please GOD to dispose of the whole fleet and business. But whereas in the said East India Company, and others such like, as have a common Treasury whereinto every Adventure is promiscuously put, the said Adventurers, once brought in, are there still continued in bank, and often additions called for: in this Fishing Company every adventurer shall but only, as it were, lend the money he adventureth for one year or thereabouts; as before is shewed.

Now for the good government and sincere disposition of this Joint Stock, &c.; it would be specially provided, amongst other ordinances and provisions, that all Officers be only annual, and that those be freely chosen and yearly changed by the more [*majority of*] votes of the Company, yearly to be assembled for that purpose. And that whatsoever gratuities, or rewards, or fees, shall be yearly given to such Officers, may, not only in gross, but in particular, be distributed or set down by the more part of voices of the Company so assembled: and not one gross sum given, be divided or distributed by any one man.

For so may the Company with their own money arm and enable one man, first thereby made proud, to overrule and keep under himself, by binding his fellow officers to himself to the neglect of the generality; whose proper gifts they be, though by that ill means it be not acknowledged: besides many other mischiefs and inconveniences, which may come by the overweening of one or few men, whilst others of better deserts perhaps, are neglected and not looked on; to the moving of much offence, murmuring and envy in some, and of pride, insolency, and arrogancy in others.

By this last mentioned promiscuous course of Joint Stock, after the rate of Adventure, and Charge, and Gain; before in particulars set down, it appears that

	Per Annum.
Every Adventurer of £100 may gain clearly ...	£75 0 0
Every Adventurer of £40 may gain clearly ...	30 0 0
Every Adventurer of £20 may gain clearly ...	15 0 0
And every Adventurer of £5 may gain clearly ...	3 15 0

Surely, I hope this famous City (ever forward for the Kingdom's good) will, for its part, provide and furnish the first hundred of Busses at the least, and thereby, according to

their former noble examples (as the Cresset to the Kingdom) give light to the rest of the land to follow them by.

And I think the East India Company will liberally further this work, for that thereby some of their greatest wants are likely to be supplied.

I speak as I think, without insinuation; which I hate as much as railing. As I neither hope for nor desire any other gain hereby than my share in the common good, that all this land shall, by GOD's blessing, reap by this business; and the proportionable gain of mine Adventure therein.

THE KING'S MAJESTY'S *Declaration to his* Subjects, CONCERNING lawful Sports to be used.

LONDON:
Printed by BONHAM NORTON and JOHN BILL,
Deputy Printers for the King's most
Excellent Majesty.
M.DC.XVIII.

By the King.

WHEREAS upon Our return, the last year out of Scotland, We did publish Our Pleasure touching the recreations of Our people in those parts, under Our hand: for some causes Us thereunto moving, We have thought good to command these Our Directions, then given in Lancashire, with a few words thereunto added and most appliable to these parts of Our Realms, to be published to all Our subjects.

Whereas We did justly, in Our progress through Lancashire, rebuke some Puritans and precise people, and took order that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawful punishing of Our good people for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises upon Sundays and other Holy Days, after the afternoon Sermon or Service; We now find, that two sorts of people wherewith that country [*county*] is much infested (We mean Papists and Puritans) have maliciously traduced and caluminated those Our just and honourable proceedings. And therefore lest Our reputation might, upon the one side, though innocently, have some aspersion laid upon it; and that, upon the other part, Our good people in that country be misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of Our meaning: We have therefore thought good hereby to clear and make Our Pleasure to be manifested to all Our good people in those parts.

It is true, that at Our first entry to this Crown and

Kingdom, We were informed, and that too truly, that Our County of Lancashire abounded more in Popish Recusants than any county in England; and thus hath still continued since, to our great regret, with little amendment, save that now, of late, in our last riding through Our said County, We find, both by the report of the Judges, and of the Bishops of that diocese, that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to Us.

The report of this growing amendment amongst them, made Us the more sorry, when, with Our own ears, We heard the general complaint of Our people, that they were barred from all lawful recreation and exercise upon the Sunday's afternoon, after the ending of all Divine Service. Which cannot but produce two evils. The one, the hindering of the conversion of many whom their priests will take occasion hereby to vex; persuading them that "no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in Our Religion!" which cannot but breed a great discontentment in Our people's hearts; especially of such as are, peradventure, upon the point of turning. The other inconvenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises as may make their bodies more able for war, when We, or Our Successors shall have occasion to use them: and in place thereof sets up filthy tiplings and drunkenness, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their alehouses. For when shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and Holy Days? seeing they must apply their labour, and win their living in all working days!

Our express pleasure therefore is, *That the Laws of Our Kingdom, and Canons of Our Church be as well observed in that County, as in all other places of this Our Kingdom. And, on the other part, that no lawful recreation shall be barred to our good people, which shall not tend to the breach of Our aforesaid Laws, and Canons of Our Church.*

Which to express more particularly,

Our Pleasure is, *That the Bishop and all other inferior Churchmen* [Clergy], *and Churchwardens shall, for their parts, be careful and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and convince and reform them that are misled in religion, presenting* [*i.e.*, re-

porting for punishment] *them that will not conform themselves, but obstinately stand out to Our Judges and Justices: whom, We likewise command to put the law in due execution against them.*

Our Pleasure likewise is, *That the Bishop of that diocese take the like strait order with all the Puritans and Precisians within the same: either constraining them to conform themselves, or to leave the country, according to the Laws of Our Kingdom and Canons of Our Church.* And so to strike equally on both hands against the Contemners of Our Authority, and Adversaries of Our Church.

And as for Our good people's lawful recreation; Our Pleasure likewise is, *That after the end of Divine Service, Our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as Dancing (either men or women), Archery for men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any other such harmless recreations; nor from having of May Games, Whitsun Ales, and Morris Dances; and the setting up of May Poles, and other sports therewith used: so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of Divine Service.* And, *That women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decoring* [decorating] *of it, according to their old custom.*

But withal, *We do here account still as prohibited, all unlawful games, to be used upon Sundays only; as Bear and Bull baitings, Interludes: and, at all times, in the meaner sort of people by Law prohibited, Bowling.*

And, likewise, *We bar from this benefit and liberty, all such known Recusants, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to Church or Divine Service*: being, therefore, unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said Service, that will not first come to the Church, and serve GOD.

Prohibiting, in like sort, the said recreation to any that, though conforme [conformable] *in Religion, are not present in the Church, at the Service of GOD, before their going to the said recreations.*

Our Pleasure likewise is, *That they to whom it belongeth in Office, shall present, and sharply punish all such, as in abuse of this Our liberty, will use these exercises before the ends of all Divine Services for that day.*

And We, likewise, straitly command, *That every person shall resort to his own Parish Church to hear Divine Service; and each Parish, by itself, to use the said recreation after Divine Service.*

Prohibiting likewise, *Any offensive weapons to be carried or used in the said times of recreation.*

And Our Pleasure is, *That this Our Declaration shall be published by order from the Bishop of the diocese, through all the Parish Churches; and that both Our Judges of Our Circuit, and Our Justices of Our Peace be informed thereof.*

Given at Our Manor of Greenwich, the four and twentieth day of May [1618] in the sixteenth year of Our reign of England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland, the one and fiftieth.

GOD save the King!

THE KING'S MAJESTY'S DECLARATION to His Subjects, CONCERNING lawful SPORTS to be used.

Imprinted at LONDON by
ROBERT BARKER, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty: and by the Assigns of JOHN BILL.

M.DC.XXXIII.

[CHARLES I.'s Preface and Conclusion.]

UR dear Father, of blessed memory, in his return from Scotland, coming through Lancashire found that his subjects were debarred from lawful recreations upon Sundays, after Evening Prayers ended, and upon Holy Days: and he prudently considered, that if these times were taken from them, the meaner sort, who labour hard all the week, should have no recreations at all to refresh their spirits.

And, after his return, he further saw that his loyal subjects in all other parts of his kingdom did suffer in the same kind, though perhaps not in the same degree. And did therefore, in his Princely wisdom, publish a Declaration to all his loving Subjects concerning the lawful Sports to be used *at such times; which was printed and published, by his royal commandment, in the year* 1618, *in the tenour which hereafter followeth.*

OW, out of a like pious care for the service of GOD, and for suppressing of any humours that oppose Truth, and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of our well deserving people: We do ratify and publish this Our blessed father's Declaration. *The rather because, of late, in some counties of Our kingdom, We find that, under pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a general Forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of the Churches, commonly called Wakes.*

Now, Our express Will and Pleasure is, that these Feasts, with others, shall be observed; and that Our Justices of the Peace, in their several divisions, shall look to it, both, that all disorders, there, may be prevented or punished; and that all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises be used.

And We further Command Our Justices of Assize, in their several circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of Our loyal or dutiful people in or for their lawful recreations; having first done their duty to GOD, and continuing in obedience to Us and Our Laws. And of this, We command all Our Judges, Justices of the Peace, as well within Liberties as without, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other Officers to take notice of; and to see observed, as they tender Our displeasure. And We further will, that publication of this Our Command be made, by order from the Bishops, through all the Parish Churches of their several diocese respectively.

Given at Our Palace of Westminster, the 18th day of October [1633], *in the ninth year of Our reign.* GOD save the King!

LEATHER:

A Discourse

tendered to the High Court

of Parliament,

of { *The general Use of Leather,*
The general Abuse thereof,
The good which may arise to Great Britain, from the reformation,
The several Statutes made in that behalf, by our ancient Kings:

And, lastly, a Petition to the High Court of Parliament, that, out of their pious care to their country, they would be pleased to take into consideration the redress of all old abuses; and by adding some remedies of their own, to cut off the new.

LONDON,

Printed by T. C. for MICHAEL SPARKE, dwelling at the sign of the *Blue Bible*, in Green Arbor. 1629.

The Contents of this Discourse.

IRST, a Proem, or Induction to it.

Secondly, a Comparison made between the commodities of other countries, and this of our own; and then is shewed the general use of Leather.

Thirdly, are laid open several abuses offered to England, by transporting her leather into foreign kingdoms.

Fourthly, is delivered, what profit to the King, and what good to the Subject shall arise by a due reformation of the abuses.

Fifthly, are brought in several Statutes made by our ancient Kings, and pleading in that behalf.

Sixthly and lastly, a Petition to the High Court of Parliament, that they would be pleased to look upon their country, and cure her of these enormities.

A Discourse concerning Leather,

tendered to the High Court of Parliament.

INGDOMS are Palaces built by the great Architect of the world, for Monarchs to dwell in! Nations, the Courtiers! every common subject, an Officer attending there upon his Sovereign! The higher men are seated, the broader and stronger ought their shoulders to be, in supportation of that State which they are to bear up; whilst the hard-hand artificer and poorest mechanic are parts and pieces of that scaffolding which serves to strengthen the glory of so magnificent a structure. For though Kings are the Master Bees in their full and swelling hives; subjects may well be called *minores apes*, which fly every day to bring home the honey.

And albeit the earth be the proper and main foundations of these kingdoms: yet the best and soundest timber to raise up buildings, the most curious adornings, beautifyings, and embellishings of them, when they are up, yea, even at the erecting of the first story, are wise, profound, politic, and wholesome Laws.

Without Laws, all nations are lame, and Sovereignty itself walks upon crutches; Authority lies sick of a consumption: and none (at such times) have able bodies, but Insolence, and the rage of the harrowing multitude. The beast with many heads will then be head of all! and when such a head is distracted, how can the limbs be but laid upon the rack, and torn to pieces!

It hath ever, therefore, been a custom in all countries, especially in this of ours, to invent, enact, and establish good Ordinances and Statutes, to serve to two uses: one as a snaffle, to be thrust into the mouths of the headstrong; the other, as a sevenfold shield to protect the obedient.

Yet, as there can be no concord in music without discord, as the best-working medicines are tempered with poison, as the noblest and clearest rivers have by-ways, creeks, and crooked windings: so there are no stratagems projected, how beneficial soever to a kingdom, but some busy-pated and malevolent spirits are raised out of hell, by sorcerous

charms, to cross and countermine it. Hence it comes, that if the whole race of man should study how to steer the helm of a commonwealth, by a strong and steady hand; yet whirlwinds will be raised on shore, and tempests hurl down their malice in thunder and lightning at sea, to shipwreck the industry, courage, and knowledge of those excellent pilots.

Let Law be never so sweetly strung; there are meddling, spiteful singers, which can put it out of tune. Abuses even of the best things, grow apace, and spread their branches over the largest dominions: but amendments can hardly take rooting in the narrowest cities.

Look back upon the reigns of our ancient Kings, upon the honourable Courts of Parliament holden in their ages, upon the wisdom, judgement, counsel, gravity, and sincerity of both Houses, Upper and Lower, then assembled; upon the Laws, the excellent Laws! those men made; and upon the care, deliberation, and serious resolution they took, in the constitution, comprising, and composing of those Laws: yet what statutes, how strongly soever knit then together, but by the paws of Lions (great men) have been since rent in sunder, mangled, and misused; or by the subtilty of Foxes (blood-suckers of States) have had holes eaten into them, and been broken through, as if they had been the cobweb lawn of spiders.

The same infection reigns now! Corruption of goodness will never die! Enormities, once crept into Kingdoms, sure, are whole-breasted monsters; and it is long ere their hearts will break! The sweetest sprigs are nipped in the blossom; the fairest trees, eaten by caterpillars; and the noblest land hath her bowels gnawn out by vipers of her own breeding.

Who are those vipers? Men, evil-minded men! that care not, so their own turns be served, what laws they subvert! what statutes they infringe! what customs they violate! what Orders they break! on what sacred urns of our English Kings, they commit sacrilege! by stealing from them the reverence due to their names for calling honourable Parliaments, Councils, and Consultations together, how to preserve in health this royal Kingdom; and if any bi-disorders and misdemeanours should strike her sick, how to cure her.

I leave the main ocean to expert navigators; it is only a poor rivulet, that I crave pardon to row in; and thus it runs,

The general Use of Leather.

The general Use of Leather.

THE heavenly Distributor of blessings hath with so excellent a moderation and judgement parted [*shared*] them among nations, that what one abounds in, the other wants; or, if any one hath share in her neighbour's benefits, it is not a superfluous heap, but a husbandly and sparing handful: so that the world is the great Vine, and every Kingdom a Prop to support the branches, and make them flourish.

Here will I spread the table! and on it, plant some of the dishes belonging to this banquet.

The West Indies open their womb, and are delivered of their golden ingots. These are the King of Spain's best sons; whom he sends forth, to fight against, and conquer (if he can) all Christendom.

Other countries on the American shore have their peculiar endowments. Some boast of their several grained woods, accommodable to rare and extraordinary excellent uses; some, of tobacco; some, of fishing: all can speak of their own particular rarities; and all are profitable and useful amongst countries far remote from them.

Let us come nearer home, and look into our next neighbours' orchards, walks, and delicate gardens.

Spain is proud of her fat wines; her oils, iron, hides: and her golden apples of the Hesperides. France glories in her vineyards, her saltpits, and marble quarries. Germany, of her seventeen rich and warlike daughters, sitting enthroned, with the abundance of all things about them. Russia lays before

you the costly furs and the rich skins of beasts. The Eastern Countries [*Baltic seashore*] are happy in their masts, cables, flax, hemp, rosin, pitch, tar, turpentine, &c.

And this, the Almighty Benefactor does, to the intent, with a *manus manum fricat*, the fire of one country should thaw the ice of another; the fulness of one supply the other's emptiness; and so be ever mindful of the good turns received, with a study of the requital *Quæ mihi præstiteris memini, semperque tenebo.* So that, by this means, they being severally beholden to foreigners and strangers unknown, may love one together, though living never so far asunder, like united friends, allies, and neighbours.

This participation of the fruits and commodities which one land suffers to be made with another, opens a free market for all commerce. It is a noble mart, to which the Christian and Turk are invited alike. This is the golden Chain of Traffic and Negotiation, which doth *concatenare* (tie) merchants of far separated countries so fast together, as if they dwelt in their own. This increases shipping, advances the trade of fishing, nurseth up mariners, and makes us as familiar inhabitants and tenants of the sea, as the farmer and the husbandman are to the land.

And as these forenamed Kingdoms have their royal magazines and storehouses; so hath England hers. For when she unlocks her treasury, there you may behold mines of tin, lead, and iron. What Kingdom in the world hath goodlier and greater cattle, to feed man, and do him service? And where nobler pasture than here, to fatten beasts? Where, larger sheep? where flocks so numerous? where better and more useful wool? What fields can please the eye for grass; or fill the barns with heavier sheaves of corn? Where sit any people by warmer fires? our sea coalpits being able, if not abused, to furnish the whole island, and lend fuel to neighbouring nations.

And yet, if truly you cast up the accounts of all those rich merchandises in foreign kingdoms, and balance them with these of our own; you shall find that not one of them all, either abroad or at home, are able for common use, extraordinary employment, enforced necessity, unrateable value, and unmatchable goodness, to compare with our ENGLISH LEATHER.

We can live without the gold of Peru, the trees of Brazil, the smoke of Virginia, and the whales of Newfoundland. What need have we of the hot Spanish, or cool French grape? Without Russia's furs, we have cloth of our own to keep us warm, and to make robes to adorn our Princes. But can our Kingdom want that excellent, useful, and commendable commodity of her own English Leather?

We have amongst us, a kind of humble, though sometimes complimentally cogging, proverbial speech; when, to shew how well we wish to a man or woman, we say, "I would lay my hands under his feet, to do him good!" What submission can be greater! What free expression of love, duty, and service! Now if Leather were able to do no more but this; to lay itself under our feet, were it not sufficient?

If no use could be made of Leather, but out of it only to cut and fashion boots and shoes; what a universal benefit were this to our country! It reaches from the King downwards to his meanest vassals; and ascends from the common subject, up to the Prince and Nobleman.

Suppose we had no Leather, either of our own or from any other nation! and that, then necessity compelled us to travail hard for some new invention to preserve our feet from the ground: what could the brain of man find out for the foot and leg, so fit, so pliant, so comely to the eye, so curious in the wearing, so lasting, and so contemning all sorts of weather, as this treasure of the Shoemaker?

In times of peace, how many thousand employments have we for Leather? In times of war, are there not as many? What can War perform without it? and what not undergo, having the free use of it?

All our ancient English Kings, all our former Parliaments, all the Nobility, Clergy, Judges, and the learned Wits of the land would never have enacted so many, so severe, and such politic laws to bar the transportation of English Leather into any foreign dominions: but that they well knew, how beneficial a commodity it was to their own kingdom, being kept at home; and how prejudicial it would prove to the State, if ever it were suffered to be consumed abroad.

How many millions, within the bounds of this little island, of men, women, and children, eat their bread by the sweat of their labour; who deal only, in this leathern commodity?

There is no City in England, no Corporation, but have hands working in this Tan Vat. The Kingdom is by their industry generally furnished: and how London thrives by them, witness our Fairs! by the cartloads of leather brought into Leadenhall, Smithfield, and other places; and all bought up within three days at most!

How many masters, besides menservants, in and about this honourable and populous City, would be enforced to leave London, and lose their freedoms, or else run into base and desperate courses, should they give over their trading in leather! How many professions were undone, wanting the use of it! How many rich households would be shut up, as in a time of sickness [*plague*]! and though the persons might happily [*haply*] not be missed; yet their labours would!

How many occupations and manual trades must be left-handed and go lame, if Leather, which is the staff they partly lean upon, be taken from them?

Take a survey of these few: *et ab uno disce omnes.*

Shoemakers, and *Curriers* } get their maintenance only by Leather.

These trades might want work, were it not for Leather.

Book binders.
Saddlers.
Upholsterers.
Budget makers.
Trunk makers.
Belt makers.
Case makers.
Wool-card makers.
Sheath makers.
Hawk's-hood makers.
Scabbard makers.
Box makers.
Cabinet makers.
Bottle and Jack makers.
Girdlers.
Glovers.

And now, within the compass of a few years, those upstart trades

Coach makers, and
Harness makers for Coach horses.

And let thus much, being but little in words, though enough in substance, serve to prove the general and necessary Use of Leather.

Now, to the Abuse.

Of the Abuses of Leather.

AS DARKNESS shoves away light, and as the best working physic hath poison in it: so the most wholesome laws may be perverted, corrupted, confounded, and condemned; as purest waters grow thick by being troubled.

Sithence then, that these few following *Acts*, established by all the wisdom, care, and providence of former times, and serving but as a taste to a thousand more, stand up as proofs that the goodliest buildings may be undermined and blown up: it is no marvel, if this weak one and poor one of Leather be likewise shaken, and in danger to be confounded.

The Use of Leather hath his place before. Now, do but cast your eyes on this other side, and behold what Abuses do attend upon it!

They are not many; yet able enough to do much mischief. Is it not strange that our Kingdom being as plentifully stored with leather as any one part of the world, there should here, notwithstanding, be a dearth of leather? Are not boots and shoes (which every man, woman, and child must, of necessity, have) sold at extreme, unusual, and intolerable prices? insomuch that the rich complain of the excessive dearness, and the poor cannot reach to the honour of a new pair. How comes this to pass?

Doth the Abuse spring from transportation of our leather into foreign countries? which hath, in all our Kings' reigns, as shall be shewn hereafter, been forbidden; and is still forbidden! Yet what cannot golden hooks pluck away from us? to serve strangers beyond the seas; yea, our greatest enemies.

This, if it be true (as it is to be feared), is a great Abuse. But is not our wanton and prodigal expense of it at home, as great an Abuse, or greater than the former? I believe any man may say so, when he doth but look upon our infinite number of coaches! What prodigal spending of leather is there made, in covering but one coach, and cutting out the harness for it! and this leather is not the meanest sort or worst; but the principal and strongest, which might, otherwise, serve both for Sooling [*soling*] Leather and Upper Leather.

It is thought, and it is easy to be known, that in London and Westminster and the parts adjoining, are maintained at least 5,000 coaches and caroches; to the furnishing of which throughout with leather, are consumed 5,000 hides of leather.

And if these two places only, spoil so much what doth the whole kingdom? sithence Pride leaps into her chariot in every Shire, Town, and City?

Every private Gentleman now is a PHÆTON, and must hurry with his thundering caroch along the streets, as that proud boy.

Or, if this be not a wasting, decaying and abuse of leather; what shall we think of the prodigality of our legs and feet? what over lavish spending of leather is there, in boots and shoes! To either of which, is now added a French proud superfluity of Galloshes!

The wearing of Boots is not the abuse; but the generality of wearing, and the manner of cutting boots out with huge, slovenly, unmannerly, and immoderate tops!

For the general walking in Boots, it is a pride taken up by the Courtier, and is descended down to the clown. The merchant and the mechanic walk in boots! Many of our Clergy, either in neat boots, or shoes and galloshes! University scholars maintain the fashion likewise. Some citizens, out of a scorn not to be gentile [*genteel*], go, every day, booted! Attorneys, lawyers' clerks, serving-men, all sorts of men delight in this wasteful wantonness!

Wasteful, I may well call it! for one pair of boots eats up the leather of six pair of reasonable men's shoes!

How many thousand pairs of boots are worn in London and Westminster, every year! They cannot be numbered!

But if there were but 1,000 pairs worn: in them are

consumed 6,000 pairs of shoes, the soles only excepted; for it is meant only 6,000 upper leathers.

Is not this, think you! an excessive devouring, and an exceeding abuse of leather? If this be not, I know not what can be!

Besides, how many several new pairs of boots doth some one man lavishly wear out in one year?

If these things, these abuses, were not; the poor might go as well shod as the rich, and leather would be sold at a reasonable rate: which now carries a higher price, than ever was known in England.

Abuses of Leather Markets.

TO THESE abuses of leather, add the abuses of markets where hides and leather are sold!

And to avoid the nomination of too many places, for these disorders spread all over the kingdom, let Leadenhall only be pricked down! for the circle and centre, in which all these devilish abuses are conjured up. Of which, this is the main one, viz.:

The market is full of excellent leather, strong backs and good upper leathers; all this in the morning, lies unsealed. Then into the market enter a crew of ancient, careful, good men, (ancient in villainy! careful to get wealth! but not caring whom to undo! good to themselves, but bad members to a commonwealth!) citizens by title, Cordwainers or Shoemakers by profession.

And these are not above eight or ten in number; rich in purse, poor in conscience! full of gold, empty of goodness! These eight or ten (no matter what their number is, so they were honest!) stalk severally up and down the market, and spying where the heaps of best leathers are, a price is beaten in the tanner's ear; but the closing up of the bargain must be at the tavern: where they and the tanners meet, have a breakfast of 30*s.* or 40*s.* [=£6 or =£8 *now*], which the tanner or they easily discharge; and there, the leather is bought, before it be sealed! which ought not to be.

But then, a Sealer is sent for, a crown [6*s.*] clapped into his hand (where not Half is his due) to go and despatch: which being done, every shoemaker comes in, and seeing it sealed, cheapens, but cannot buy!

"It is sold," they say, "already." And so, on a sudden, all is swept away to the warehouses or cellars of these unconscionable engrossers.

So that if a shoemaker that brings but £4 or £5 [£16 *or* £20 *now*] to the market (his estate happily reaching no higher), is enforced to buy leather of these cormorants, at such rates as they please to set them.

The hurts done by these men are many; and whole families smart and want through their greediness. Yet the mischief they do, comes not alone: for here another abuse follows.

The poorer sort of tanners; they, seeing the market swept of all the best leather, hold up their worst hides at as dear a rate as the best were paid for: and so, the said shoemaker is glad to buy ill ware, and pay dear for it too! or else go home and do nothing.

Another abuse is, that every week are bought and carried away from the market 300 or 400 raw hides at the least; which being conveyed in carts to certain ends of the town, are there first dried and then salted; and then sent into several counties to be tanned: but are never again brought into London. By which means, the market of the City is cheated of much good ware in a year; and the tradesmen thereby hindered, if not undone.

The good that may arise by Reformation of these Abuses.

F IT would please the High Court of Parliament to take into consideration, a redress of these wrongs, disorders, and abuses; by restraining the prodigal wasting of Leather,

1. The prices of boots and shoes would, in a very short time be abated.
2. Our country would be abundantly furnished with this beneficial and needful commodity.
3. The knitting of worsted and woollen stockings, now much decayed throughout the whole kingdom, [would be] greatly put in practice.
4. An infinite number of poor children, which now go begging up and down, [would] be set at work.
5. Tradesmen and shopkeepers in all our cities, [would] have quicker doings.

6. The ancient Company of Hosiers (who, in former times, lived richly, by cutting out Kerseys into Cloth Stockings; but are now utterly in a manner, extinguished) might be set up again: to the good and maintenance of many hundreds of families; who might be set at work, only to serve their shops with those kinds of wares.
7. And, lastly, by this means, our own country commodities might be kept at home in full abundance: whereas, now, they are conveyed away into other Kingdoms to furnish them, whilst we feel the scarcity.

If the Masters and Wardens of the Companies of Saddlers, Cordwainers, and Curriers might be examined, what they know touching these abuses, how they come? and from whom? and by what ways these mischiefs may be prevented? no question is to be made, but an easy path might be beaten out, to do a general good to our nation; because they are men better informed in these mysteries than any others.

The Statutes enacted in several Kings' reigns, touching Leather.

Anno. 27 *Hen.* 8, *cap.* 14. *NO MANNER of Estranger or Denizen shall pack, or cause to be packed, any manner of Leather, to be conveyed over the seas out of this Realm, Wales, or other the King's Dominions; otherwise than in this* Act *is expressed, that is to say,* that all such Leather shall be hereafter packed by a Packer sworn in every such port, where any leather shall be shipped to be conveyed out of this Realm, Wales, or other the King's Dominions, upon pain of forfeiture of all such leather, &c.

No tanner within this Realm, Wales, or other the King's Dominions, or other persons occupying or having a tan house, shall from henceforth send, or cause to be conveyed over the sea, by way of merchandise or otherwise, any manner of leather, tanned or untanned: upon pain of forfeiture of all such leather, or the value thereof.

Nor that any person or persons, at any time hereafter, shall carry over the sea out of this Realm &c., any salted or untanned hide, or any leather called Back or Sole Leather, *&c.*

Anno. 2 *Ed.* 6, *cap.* 11. An *Act* was made for the true tanning of Leather.

An *Act* enacted in *Anno.* 3 *Ed.* 6, *cap.* 6. That it shall be lawful to divers artificers there named, to buy and sell tanned leather, curried or not curried: so that such should be converted by the buyers into wares within the King's Dominions.

Again, in *Anno.* 5 *Ed.* 6, *cap.* 15. *No person or persons*

shall ship, or cause to be shipped, to the intent to carry transport or convey over the seas, as merchandise to be sold or exchanged there, any shoes, boots, buskins, startups, or slippers: upon pain to forfeit all and every such shoes, &c.

Again *Anno.* 1 *Eliz., cap.* 10. An *Act* was made that the carrying of leather, tallow, and raw hides out of this Realm for merchandise, should be Felony.

There was a Statute made concerning Cordwainers and Shoemakers in 25 *Ed.* 3, *cap.* 2.

Another in 13 *Rich.* 2, *cap.* 12.

Another in 4 *Hen.* 4, *cap.* 35.

Another in 2 *Hen.* 5, *cap.* 7.

Another in 4 *Ed.* 4, intituled, *Cordwainers and Cobblers.*

Another in 1 *Hen.* 7, called *An Act against Tanners and Cordwainers.*

Another in 19 *Hen.* 7, intituled, *For Curriers and Cordwainers.*

Another in 3 *Hen.* 8.

Another in 5 *Hen.* 8, intituled, *An Act for Strangers for buying of Leather in open market.*

Another in the 14 or 15 *Hen.* 8, intituled, *An Act concerning the liberty of Cordwainers and Shoemakers.*

Another in 22 *Hen.* 8, intituled, *An Act concerning Tanners and Butchers.*

Another in 24 *Hen.* 8, intituled, *An Act concerning true tanning and currying of Leather.*

Another to the same purpose, *Anno.* 2 and 3 *Ed.* 6, *cap.* 9.

Another in 4 *Ed.* 6, intituled, *An Act for buying of rough hides and calves' skins.*

Another in 1 *Eliz.*, where it was enacted, *That it shall not be lawful for any person or persons to lade, ship, or carry into any vessel or ship, or otherwise, any Leather, Tallow, or raw Hides, of intent to transport or carry the same into any place or places of the parts beyond the seas, or into the Realm of Scotland, by land or by seas, other than Scottish hides: upon the forfeiture &c.*

And the owners of the said ships or vessels, knowing of such offence, to forfeit the said ships or vessels, with all their apparel [tackle] *and furniture to them and every of them belonging.*

And the Masters and Mariners knowing of such offence, to forfeit all their goods and chattels; and to have imprisonment by the space of One Year, without bail or mainprize.

Then in 4 *Jacob. cap.* 5, there is a long *Act* set down touching Cordwainers, Curriers, Tanners, Butchers, and Leather; spreading into many and several branches, viz.:—

No Butcher by himself or any other person, shall gash, slaughter, or cut any Hide of any ox, bull, steer, or cow.

No Butcher shall water any Hide, except in the months of June, July, and August; nor shall offer to put to sale any Hide putrified.

No Butcher shall use the craft, feat, or mystery of a Tanner.

No Tanner shall use the craft or mystery of a Shoemaker, Currier, Butcher, or other artificer using, or exercising, cutting, or working of leather.

No Tanner shall suffer any Hide or Skin to be in the lime till the same be overlimed; nor shall put any Hides or Skins into any tan vats before the lime be well and perfectly soaked; nor shall use any stuff about the tanning of Leather, but only ash-bark, oak-bark, topwort, malt, meal, or lime; nor shall suffer his Leather to be laid, or to hang, or to lie wet in any frost; nor to parch or dry his leather with the heat of the fire or of the summer sun; nor shall suffer the hide for utter [outward] *Sole Leather, to lie in the woozes, any less time than nine months at the least.*

No Tanner shall tan any Hide, Calves' skin, or Sheep's skin, with hot or warm woozes: upon forfeiture of £10 for every such offence; and also for every such offence, stand in the pillory, three market days.

No Currier shall curry any kind of Leather in the house of any Shoemaker; but only in his own house, and that must be situate in a corporate or market town: nor shall curry any kind of Leather, except it be well and perfectly tanned; nor curry any hide being not perfectly dried after his wet season. In which wet season, he shall not use any deceitful mixture; nor curry any Leather meet for utter Sole Leather with any other stuff than hard tallow; nor curry any leather for Over [Upper] *Leather and Inner Soles but with good stuff, being fresh and not salt; nor shall burn or scald any Hide or Leather in the currying, nor shall have any leather too thin; nor shall gash or hurt any Leather in the shaving.*

No Currier shall use the mystery of a Tanner, Cordwainer, Shoemaker, Butcher, or any other artificer using or cutting of Leather.

No Cordwainer or Shoemaker shall make, or cause to be mad

any boots, shoes, buskins, startups, slippers, or pantoffles; or any part of them, of English Leather wet curried (other than Deer skins, Calf skins, or Goat skins dressed like Spanish Leather); but of Leather well and truly tanned, and curried substantially, sewed with good thread (well twisted and made and sufficiently waxed with wax, and well rosined), and the stitches hard drawn with hand-leathers, without mingling of Over Leathers; that is to say, part of the Over Leather being of Neat's Leather, and part of Calf Leather.

No Cordwainer or Shoemaker shall put into any boots, shoes, &c. (as before) *any Leather made of Sheepskin, Bull hide, or Horse hide; nor in the Upper Leathers of any shoes, startups &c., or in the nether* [lower] *part of any boots (the inner part of the shoes only excepted) any part of any Hide from which the Sole Leather is cut, called the Womb, Neck, Shank, Flank, Poul, or Cheek. Nor put in the Utter Sole, any other leather than the best of the Ox or Steer Hide; nor into the Inner Sole, than the Wombs, Necks, Pouls, or Cheeks; nor into the trewsels of the double-soled shoes, other than the Flanks of Hides.*

Moreover, the Masters and Wardens of Cordwainers, Curriers, Girdlers, and Saddlers of the City of London, upon pain to forfeit £40 [= £200 now] *for every year they make default, shall, once every quarter, make a true search and view within London, and within three miles of the same, for all boots, shoes, buskins, &c., made of tanned leather; and if they be not made and wrought, as they ought to be, or insufficiently curried; then the said Masters and Wardens have power to take, seize, and carry away to their Common Halls, all such boots, shoes, wares, stuff, or other things.*

And that all coach makers dwelling in London, or within three miles of the city, shall be under the survey and search of the Masters and Wardens of the Company of the Saddlers.

Moreover, that the Lord Mayor of London and the Aldermen are, upon pain of £40 *yearly, to appoint Eight Persons, free of the Cordwainers, Curriers, Saddlers, or Girdlers (of the which one shall be a Sealer, and the rest Searchers), to view and search every tanned Hide, Skin, or Leather which shall be brought to Leadenhall Market: and there, if they find them sufficiently tanned and thoroughly dried, then to seal them; or being found defective, to seize them.*

And within six days after the seizing, such Hides or Leathers are to be reviewed by certain Triers; whereof there are two of the

better sort of the Company of the Cordwainers, two of the better sort of the Company of Curriers, and the other two of the better sort of the Tanners using Leadenhall Market.

These Searchers and Sealers, for fear of corruption, are not suffered to continue in the office longer than two years: taking for the searching, sealing, and registering of every Ten Hides, Backs, or Butts of Leather (with the Necks, Wombs, and Dibbins, or other pieces of offal cut from the Backs or Butts), of the Seller 2d. [=6d. now], *and of the Buyer as much.*

Now for the avoiding of all ambiguities and doubts, which may grow and arise upon the definition of this word Leather: it is enacted &c., That the Hides and Skins of Ox, Steer, Bull, Cow, Calf, Deer red or fallow, Goat and Sheep, being tanned or tawed; and every Salt Hide is, shall be, and ever hath been, reputed and taken for "Leather."

All currying and dressing of Leather, commonly called Dry Currying and Frizzing, being construed to be "Dressing and Currying of Leather after the manner of Spanish leather."

To shew how careful this Parliament was to keep this excellent commodity of Leather to ourselves, the want of it being so hurtful; hear what the *Act* speaks against transportation.

It is enacted &c., *That if any Leather wrought, cut, or unwrought, to the intent to be sold or bartered, shall hereafter unlawfully be transported, or purposed to be transported into other parts beyond the sea, from or out of any port, haven, or creek of this Realm or Wales: every Controller, Customer* [Customs Collector], *Surveyor, Collector of Tonnage and Poundage, and the Searchers; and the deputy of any of them, or any other persons hearing or knowing, by any ways, of any Leather meant to be transported from any place within his Office, and do not his best endeavour to seize the same; or being transported, do not disclose or cause the same to be disclosed within forty days next after such knowledge or hearing of the same, in some Court of Record, so as the offender may be punished according to the laws in that case provided, shall, for every the first offence committed against this* Article, *forfeit* £100 [=£500 now], *and for the second offence, his Office.*

Again, *Every Customer, Officer, or Officer's Deputy that shall make any false certificate of any Leather in any port, creek, or place of this Realm, shall also forfeit for every such offence* £100.

Now whereas by the covetousness of divers, regrating and ingrossing [rigging the market of] *tanned Leather, and selling it again at excessive prices to saddlers, and such other artificers making wares of tanned Leather, those wares be grown to unreasonable prices: Be it enacted &c., That no person or persons, of what estate degree or condition soever he or they be, shall buy or ingross, or cause to be bought or ingrossed any kind of tanned leather, to the intent to sell the same again: upon pain to forfeit the said leather so bought. Provided &c., That all Saddlers, Girdlers, Cordwainers, and all other artificers such as make mails, bougets* [bags], *leather-pots, tankards, boar-hides, or any other wares of Leather, shall or may buy all such kind of Tanned Leather.*

FINIS.

The General Grievance of all England; Man, Woman, and Child.

To the High and Honourable Court of Parliament.

WHEREAS, We, your poor Petitioners, jointly, with one unanimity, humbly desire a Reformation of this general and great Grievance of late, for, and in consideration of the great Abuse of Transportation of Raw Hides, Tanned Skins of great growth, and Calves' Skins: all which are transported in most unreasonable manner, and under the colour [*pretence*] of the transporting of some hundred Dozens, many thousands are daily transported; and that in such an excessive manner that not only all Skins that are brought into the market at Leadenhall and elsewhere, are so enhanced in price that they be of late raised Treble to the price they have been; but, by secret bargains, almost all sorts of leather be bought underhand, in all countries [*counties*] before they come to markets to be sold, by divers merchants for to be transported.

And, moreover, it is, for certain, known, that divers Dutchmen come daily over, and employ poor shoemakers, curriers, and cobblers to be their bargain-drivers in all chief fairs, for great parcels of ware and sums of money,

whilst they themselves sit private in taverns or tippling-houses, to pay the money when others have driven the bargain. By which means the fairs and markets be so forestalled, that His Majesty's subjects cannot have the benefit of the fairs and markets as in times past; the said commodities being bought out of His Majesty's subjects' hands.

And likewise, of late days, some leather sellers of London, who do not cut, or work, or use leather, finding the great benefit and profit to be got by transporting, have and do (contrary to all equity or right) buy, or cause in private to be bought up, what they conveniently may.

So that, unless there be some speedy course taken by this Honourable Court now assembled; it is most likely that all mechanics that get their livings by the said use of Leather, are likely to fall to utter ruin and decay; and this commodity to be enhanced to such an unreasonable price that our enemies shall go well shod, and we bare foot! and be utterly impoverished in that commodity: and all trades, which in times past have flourished by Leather, are now likely to be utterly ruinate and overthrown.

Therefore, We, His Majesty's poor subjects, in most humble manner, desire in commiseration of our poor wives and children, [you] to take into consideration this our extreme grievance, and to provide for some speedy remedy.

And we shall daily pray for your prosperous success.

THE
Carriers' Cosmography:

or

A Brief Relation

of

The Inns, Ordinaries, Hostelries,

and other lodgings in and near London; where the Carriers, Waggons, Foot-posts and Higglers do usually come from any parts, towns, shires and countries of the Kingdoms of England, Principality of Wales; as also from the Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland.

With nomination of what days of

the week they do come to London, and on what days they return: whereby all sorts of people may find direction how to receive or send goods or letters unto such places as their occasions may require.

As also,

Where the Ships, Hoys, Barks,

Tiltboats, Barges and Wherries, do usually attend to carry Passengers and Goods to the coast towns of England, Scotland, Ireland, or the Netherlands; and where the Barges and Boats are ordinarily to be had, that go up the River of Thames westward from London.

By *Iohn Taylor.*

London Printed by *A. G.* 1637.

To all whom it may concern; with my kind remembrance to the Posts, Carriers, Waggoners and Higglers.

IF any man or woman whomsoever hath either occasion or patience to read this following description, it is no doubt but they shall find full satisfaction for as much as they laid out for the book: if not, it is against my will; and my good intentions are lost and frustrate.

I wrote it for three causes. First, for a general and necessary good use for the whole commonwealth. Secondly, to express my grateful duty to all those who have honestly paid me my money which they owed me for my books of The collection of Taverns in London and Westminster, and ten shires or counties next round about London; *and I do also thank all such as do purpose to pay me hereafter. Thirdly, for the third sort, that can pay me and will not; I write this as a document: I am well pleased to leave them to the hangman's tuition, as being past any other man's mending, for I would have them to know, that I am sensible of*

the too much loss that I do suffer by their pride or cousenage; their number being so many and my charge so great, which I paid for paper and printing of those books, that the base dealing of those sharks is insupportable. But the tedious toil that I had in this collection, and the harsh and unsavoury answers that I was fain to take patiently, from Hostlers, Carriers, and Porters, may move any man that thinks himself mortal to pity me.

In some places, I was suspected for a Projector; or one that had devised some trick to bring the Carriers under some new taxation; and sometimes I was held to have been a Man-taker, a Sergeant, or Bailiff to arrest or attach men's goods or beasts. Indeed I was scarce taken for an honest man amongst the most of them. All which suppositions I was enforced oftentimes to wash away with two or three jugs of beer, at most of the Inns I came to. In some Inns or Hostelries, I could get no certain intelligence, so that I did take instructions at the next Inn unto it; which I did oftentimes take upon trust though I doubted [feared] *it was indirect and imperfect.*

Had the Carriers, Hostlers, and others known my harmless and honest intendments, I do think this following relation had been more large and useful: but if there be any thing left out in this first impression, it shall be with diligence inserted hereafter, when the Carriers and I shall be more familiarly acquainted; and they, with the Hostlers, shall be pleased in their generosity, to afford me more ample directions. In the mean space, I hope I shall give none of my readers cause to curse the Carrier that brought me to town.

Some may object that the Carriers do often change and shift from one Inn or Lodging to another, whereby this following direction may be hereafter untrue. To them I answer, that I am not bound to bind them or to stay them in one place; but if they do remove, they may be inquired for at the place which they have

left or forsaken; and it is an easy matter to find them by the learned intelligence of some other Carriers, an Hostler, or an understanding Porter.

Others may object and say that I have not named all the towns and places that Carriers do go unto in England and Wales. To whom I yield; but yet I answer, that if a Carrier of York hath a letter or goods to deliver at any town in his way thither, he serves the turn well enough: and there are Carriers and Messengers from York to carry such goods and letters as are to be passed any ways north, broad and wide as far or farther than Berwick. So he that sends to Lancaster may from thence have what he sends conveyed to Kendal or Cockermouth; and what a man sends to Hereford may from thence be passed to St. Davids in Wales. The Worcester Carriers can convey anything as far as Caermarthen; and those that go to Chester may send to Caernarvon. The Carriers or Posts that go to Exeter may send daily to Plymouth, or to the Mount in Cornwall. Mixfield, Chippenham, Hungerford, Newberry, and all those towns between London and Bristol; the Bristol Carriers do carry letters unto them: so likewise all the towns and places are served, which are betwixt London and Lincoln, or Boston, Yarmouth, Oxford, Cambridge, Walsingham, Dover, Rye, or any place of the King's dominions, with safe and true carriage of goods and letters; as by this little book's directions may be perceived.

Besides, if a man at Constantinople or some other remote part or region shall chance to send a letter to his parents, master, or friends that dwell at Nottingham, Derby, Shrewsbury, Exeter, or any other town in England; then this book will give instructions where the Carriers do lodge that may convey the said letter, which could not easily be done without it; for there are not many that by heart or memory can tell suddenly where and when every Carrier is to be found.

I have (for the ease of the reader and the speedier finding out of every town's name, to which any one would send, or from whence they would receive) set them down by way of Alphabet; and thus Reader if thou beest pleased, I am satisfied; if thou beest contented, I am paid; if thou beest angry, I care not for it.

A.

THE Carriers of Saint Albans do come every Friday to the sign of the *Peacock* in Aldersgate street: on which days also cometh a coach from Saint Albans, to the *Bell* in the same street. The like Coach is also there for the carriage of passengers every Tuesday.

The Carriers of Abingdon do lodge at the *George* in Bread street. They do come on Wednesdays, and go away on Thursdays.

The Carriers of Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire do lodge at the *George* near Holborn Bridge, at the *Swan* in the Strand, at the *Angel* behind St. Clement's church, and at the *Bell* in Holborn. They are at one of these places every other day.

The Carriers of Ashbury do lodge at the *Castle* in Great Wood street. They are to be found there on Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays.

B.

THE Carriers of Blanville in Dorsetshire do lodge at the *Chequer* near Charing Cross. They do come thither every second Thursday. Also there cometh Carriers from Blandford, to the sign of the *Rose* near Holborn Bridge.

The Carriers of Braintree and Bocking in Essex do lodge at the sign of the *Tabard* in Gracious [*Gracechurch*] street, near the Conduit. They do come on Thursdays, and go away on Fridays.

The Carriers of Bath do lodge at the *Three Cups* in Bread street. They come on Fridays, and go on Saturdays.

The Carriers of Bristol do lodge at the *Three Cups* in Bread street; and likewise from Bristol on Thursdays, a Carrier which lodgeth at the *Swan* near to Holborn Bridge.

The Carriers of Bruton in Dorsetshire do lodge at the *Rose* near Holborn Bridge. They come on Thursdays, and go away on Fridays.

The Carriers from divers parts of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire are almost every day to be had at the sign of the *Saracen's Head* without Newgate.

The Carriers of Broomsbury do lodge at the sign of the *Maidenhead* in Cateaton street, near the Guildhall in London. They come on Thursdays, and go away on Fridays.

The Carriers of Bingham in Nottinghamshire do lodge at the *Black Bull* in Smithfield. They come on Fridays.

The Carriers of Bramley in Staffordshire do lodge at the *Castle* near Smithfield-bars. They come on Thursdays, and go away on Fridays or Saturdays.

The Carriers of Burford in Oxfordshire do lodge at the *Bell* in Friday street. They come on Thursdays, and go away on Fridays.

The Carriers of Buckingham do lodge at the *King's Head* in the Old Change. They come Wednesdays and Thursdays.

The Carriers of Buckingham do lodge at the *Saracen's Head* in Carter lane. They come and go Fridays and Saturdays.

The Carriers of Bewdley in Worcestershire do lodge at the *Castle* in Wood street. They come and go Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays.

The Carriers of Buckingham do lodge at the *George* near Holborn Bridge. They come and go on Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Brackley in Northamptonshire do lodge at the *George* near Holborn Bridge. They come and go on Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Banbury in Oxfordshire do lodge at the

George near Holborn Bridge. They go and come Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Bedford do lodge at the *Three Horseshoes* in Aldersgate street. They come on Thursdays.

The Carriers of Bridgnorth do lodge at the *Maidenhead* in Cateaton street, near the Guildhall.

The Carriers of Bury, or St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk, do lodge at the *Dolphin* without Bishopsgate street. They come on Thursdays.

The Waggons of Bury, or Berry, in Suffolk, do come every Thursday to the sign of the *Four Swans* in Bishopsgate street.

A Foot Post doth come from the said Bury every Wednesday to the *Green Dragon* in Bishopsgate street; by whom letters may be conveyed to and fro.

The Carriers of Barnstaple in Devonshire do lodge at the *Star* in Bread street. They come on Fridays, and return on Saturdays or Mondays.

The Carriers of Bampton do lodge at the *Mermaid* in Carter lane; and there also lodge the carriers of Buckland. They are there on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Brill in Buckinghamshire do lodge at the sign of *Saint Paul's Head* in Carter lane. They come on Tuesdays and Wednesdays.

The Carriers of Bampton in Lancashire do lodge at the *Bear* at Bassishaw. They are there to be had on Thursdays and Fridays. Also thither cometh Carriers from other parts in the said county of Lancashire.

The Carriers of Batcombe in Somersetshire do lodge at the *Crown* or *Jarret's Hall* at the end of Basing lane, near Bread street. They come every Friday.

The Carriers of Broughton in Leicestershire do lodge at the sign of the *Axe* in Aldermanbury. They are there every Friday.

C.

THE Carriers of Colchester do lodge at the *Cross Keys* in Gracious street. They come on the Thursdays, and go away on the Fridays.

The Carrier of Chesham in Buckinghamshire

doth come twice every week to the sign of the *White Hart* in High Holborn, at the end of Drury lane.

The Carrier of Coggeshall in Suffolk doth lodge at the *Spread Eagle* in Gracious street. He comes and goes on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Waggons from Chippenganger [*Chipping Ongar*] in Essex do come every Wednesday to the *Crown* without Aldgate.

The Waggons from Chelmsford in Essex come on Wednesdays to the sign of the *Blue Boar* without Aldgate.

The Carriers of Cheltenham in Gloucestershire do lodge at the *Three Cups* in Bread street. They do come on Fridays, and go away on Saturdays.

The Carriers of Camden in Gloucestershire, and of Chipping Norton, do lodge at the *Three Cups* in Bread street. They come and go Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays.

The Carriers of Chester do lodge at the *Castle* in Wood street. They are there to be had on Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays.

The Carriers of Chard in Dorsetshire do lodge at the *Queen's Arms* near Holborn Bridge. They are there to be had on Fridays.

The Carriers of Chard do lodge at the *George* in Bread street.

The Carriers of Chester do lodge at *Blossom's* or *Bosom's Inn* in St. Laurance lane, near Cheapside: every Thursday.

The Carriers of Coleashby in Northamptonshire do lodge at the sign of the *Ball* in Smithfield. Also there do lodge Carriers of divers parts of that country [*county*] at the *Bell*, in Smithfield. They do come on the Thursdays.

The Carriers of Crawley in Bedfordshire do lodge at the *Bear and Ragged Staff* in Smithfield. They come on the Thursdays.

The Carriers of Coventry in Warwickshire, do lodge at the *Ram* in Smithfield. They come on Wednesdays and Thursdays.

There are other Carriers from Coventry that do, on Thursdays and Fridays, come to the *Rose* in Smithfield.

The Carrier of Creete in Leicestershire doth lodge at the *Rose* in Smithfield.

The Waggons or Coaches from Cambridge do come every Thursday and Friday to the *Black Bull* in Bishopsgate street.

The Carriers of Coventry do lodge at the sign of the *Axe* in Saint Mary Axe in Aldermanbury. They are there Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Cambridge do lodge at the *Bell* in Coleman street. They come every Thursday.

The Foot Post of Canterbury doth come every Wednesday and Saturday to the sign of the *Two-necked* [i.e. *nicked*] *Swan* at Sommers Key, near Billingsgate.

The Carriers of Crookehorne in Devonshire do lodge at the *Queen's Arms* near Holborn Bridge. They come on Thursdays.

D.

THE Carriers of Dunmow in Essex do lodge at the *Saracen's Head* in Gracious street. They come and go on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Waggons from Dunmow do come every Wednesday to the *Crown* without Aldgate.

The Carriers of Ditmarsh in Berkshire do lodge at the *George* in Bread street.

The Carriers of Doncaster in Yorkshire, and many other parts in that country, do lodge at the *Bell*, or *Belle Sauvage*, without Ludgate. They do come on Fridays, and go away on Saturdays or Mondays.

The Carriers of Dorchester do lodge at the *Rose* near Holborn Bridge. They come and go on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Denbigh in Wales do lodge at *Bosom's Inn* every Thursday. Also other Carriers do come to the said Inn from other parts of that country.

The Carrier of Daintree doth lodge every Friday night at the *Cross Keys* in Saint John's street.

The Carriers from Duneehanger, and other places near Stony Stratford, do lodge at the *Three Cups* in Saint John's street.

The Carriers of Derby, and other parts of Derbyshire, do lodge at the *Axe* in Saint Mary Axe, near Aldermanbury. They are to be heard of there on Fridays.

The Carriers of Derby do lodge at the *Castle* in Wood street every week, on Thursdays or Fridays.

E.

THE Carrier of Epping in Essex doth lodge at the *Prince's Arms* in Leadenhall street. He comes on Thursdays.

The Carriers of Exeter do lodge at the *Star* in Bread street. They come on Fridays, and go away on Saturdays or Mondays.

The Carriers of Exeter do lodge at the *Rose* near Holborn Bridge. They come on Thursdays.

The Carriers of Evesham in Worcestershire do lodge at the *Castle* in Wood street. They come thither on Fridays.

F.

THE Carriers of Feckingham-forest in Worcestershire do lodge at the *Crown* in High Holborn, and at the *Queen's Head* at Saint Giles in the fields. There is also another Carrier from the same place.

The Carriers of Farringdon in Berkshire do lodge at the *Saint Paul's Head* in Carter lane. They come on Tuesdays, and go away on Wednesdays.

G.

CARRIERS from Grindon Under Wood in Buckinghamshire do lodge at the *Saint Paul's Head* in Carter lane. They are to be found there on Tuesdays and Wednesdays.

The Carriers of Gloucester do come to the *Saracen's Head* without Newgate, on Fridays.

The Carriers of Gloucester do lodge at the *Saracen's Head* in Carter lane. They come on Fridays.

Clothiers do come every week out of divers parts of Gloucestershire to the *Saracen's Head* in Friday street.

The Wains or Waggons do come every week from sundry places in Gloucestershire, and are to be had at the *Swan* near Holborn Bridge.

There are Carriers of some places in Gloucestershire that do lodge at the *Mermaid* in Carter lane.

H.

CARRIERS from Hadley in Suffolk do lodge at the *George* in Lombard street. They come on Thursdays.

The Carriers of Huntingdon do lodge at the *White Hind* without Cripplegate. They come upon Thursdays, and go away on Fridays.

The Carriers of Hereford do lodge at the *King's Head* in the Old Change. They do come on Fridays, and go on Saturdays.

The Carriers of Halifax in Yorkshire do lodge at the *Greyhound* in Smithfield. They do come but once every month.

The Carriers of Halifax are every Wednesday to be had at the *Bear* at Bassishaw.

The Carriers of Halifax do likewise lodge at the *Axe* in [Saint Mary Axe] Aldermanbury.

The Carriers of Halifax do likewise lodge at the *White Hart* in Coleman street.

The Carriers of Hatfield in Hertfordshire do lodge at the *Bell* in Saint John's street. They come on Thursdays.

The Carriers of Harding in Hertfordshire do lodge at the *Cock* in Aldersgate street. They come on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays.

The Carrier or Waggon of Hadham in Hertfordshire do lodge at the *Bull* in Bishopsgate street. They do come and go on Mondays, Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays.

The Waggon or Coach from Hertford town doth come every Friday to the *Four Swans* without Bishopsgate street.

The Waggon or Coach of Hatfield doth come every Friday to the *Bell* in Aldersgate street.

I.

THE Carriers of Ipswich in Suffolk do lodge at the sign of the *George* in Lombard street. They do come on Thursdays.

The Post of Ipswich doth lodge at the *Cross Keys* in Gracious street. He comes on Thursdays, and goes on Fridays.

The Wains of Ingarstone in Essex do come every Wednesday to the *King's Arms* in Leadenhall street.

The Carriers of Ivell in Dorsetshire do lodge at *Jarret's Hall* or the *Crown* in Basing lane, near Bread street.

K.

THE Carriers of Keinton in Oxfordshire do lodge at the *Bell* in Friday street. They are there to be had on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Post of the Town of Kingston upon Hull, commonly called Hull, doth lodge at the sign of the *Bull* over against Leadenhall.

L.

THE Carrier of Lincoln do lodge at the *White Horse* without Cripplegate. He cometh every second Friday.

The Carriers of Leighton Beudesart, corruptly called Leighton Buzzard, in Bedfordshire; do lodge at the *Hart's Horns* in Smithfield. They come on Mondays and Tuesdays.

The Carriers of Leicester do lodge at the *Saracen's Head* without Newgate. They come on Tuesdays.

The Carriers of Leicester do also lodge at the *Castle* near Smithfield-bars. They do come on Thursdays.

There be Carriers that do pass to and through sundry parts of Leicestershire; which do lodge at the *Ram* in Smithfield.

The like Carriers are weekly to be had at the *Rose* in Smithfield, that come and go through other parts of Leicestershire.

The Carriers of Lewton [*Luton*] in Hertfordshire do lodge at the *Cock* in Aldersgate street. They are there Tuesdays and Wednesdays.

The Carriers of Leeds in Yorkshire do lodge at the *Bear* in Bassishaw. They come every Wednesday.

The Carriers of Leeds do also lodge at the *Axe* in [Saint Mary Axe] Aldermanbury.

The Carriers of Leicester do lodge at the *Axe* in [Saint Mary Axe] Aldermanbury.

The Carriers of Loughborough in Leicestershire do lodge at the *Axe* in [Saint Mary Axe] Aldermanbury. Also other Carriers do lodge there which do pass through Leicestershire, and through divers places of Lancashire.

M.

THE Carriers of Malden in Essex do lodge at the *Cross Keys* in Gracious street. They come on Thursdays, and go on Fridays.

The Carriers of Monmouth in Wales, and some parts of Monmouthshire; do lodge at the [*Saint*] *Paul's Head* in Carter lane. They do come to London on Fridays.

The Carriers of Marlborough do lodge at the sign of the *Swan* near Holborn Bridge. They do come on Thursdays.

There doth come from Great Marlow in Buckinghamshire some higglers or demi-carriers. They do lodge at the *Swan* in the Strand, and they come every Tuesday.

The Carriers of Manchester do lodge at the *Bear* in Bassishaw. They do come on Thursdays or Fridays.

The Carriers of Manchester do likewise lodge at the sign of the *Axe* in [Saint Mary Axe] Aldermanbury.

The Carriers of Manchester do also lodge at the *Two-necked Swan* in Lad lane; between Great Wood street and Milk-street end. They come every second Thursday. Also there do lodge Carriers that do pass through divers other parts of Lancashire.

The Carriers of Melford in Suffolk do lodge at the *Spread Eagle* in Gracious street. They come and go on Thursdays and Fridays.

N.

CARRIERS from New-Elme in Berkshire do lodge at the *George* in Bread street. They come on Wednesdays and Thursdays.

The Carriers of Netherley in Staffordshire do lodge at the *Bear and Ragged Staff* in Smithfield. They do come on Thursdays.

The Carriers of Northampton, and from other parts of that country there about; are almost every day in the week to be had at the *Ram* in Smithfield.

There doth come also Carriers to the *Rose* in Smithfield, daily; which do pass to or through many parts of Northamptonshire.

The Carrier of Nottingham doth lodge at the *Cross Keys* in Saint John's street. He cometh every second Saturday.

There is also a Foot Post that doth come every second Thursday from Nottingham. He lodgeth at the *Swan* in St. John's street.

The Carriers of Norwich do lodge at the *Dolphin* without Bishopsgate. They are to be found there on Mondays and Tuesdays.

The Carriers of Newport Pannel [*Pagnell*] in Buckinghamshire do lodge at the *Peacock* in Aldersgate street. They do come on Mondays and Tuesdays.

The Carriers at Nantwich do lodge at the *Axe* in [Saint Mary Axe] Aldermanbury. They are there Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Nuneaton in Warwickshire do lodge at the *Axe* in [Saint Mary Axe] Aldermanbury. They come on Fridays.

O.

THE Carriers of Oxford do lodge at the *Saracen's Head* without Newgate, near Saint Sepulchre's Church. They are there on Wednesdays, or almost any day.

The Carriers of Olney in Buckinghamshire do lodge at the *Cock* in Aldersgate street, at the Long lane end. They do come on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays.

P.

THE Carriers of Preston in Lancashire do lodge at the *Bell* in Friday street. They are there on Fridays.

R.

THE Carriers of Reading in Berkshire do lodge at the *George* in Bread street. They are there on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers from Rutland and Rutlandshire, and other parts of Yorkshire, do lodge at the *Ram* in Smithfield. They come weekly; but their days of coming are not certain.

S.

THE Carriers of Sudbury in Suffolk do lodge at the *Saracen's Head* in Gracious street. They do come and go on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Sawbridgeworth in Hertfordshire do lodge at the *Prince's Arms* in Leadenhall street. They come on Thursdays.

The Wains from Stock in Essex do come every Wednesday to the *King's Arms* in Leadenhall street.

The Carriers from Stroodwater in Gloucestershire do lodge at the *Bell* in Friday street. They do come on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Sisham in Northamptonshire do lodge at the *Saracen's Head* in Carter lane. They come on Friday, and return on Saturday.

The Carriers from Sheffield in Yorkshire do lodge at the *Castle* in Wood street. They are there to be found on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers from Salisbury do lodge at the *Queen's Arms* near Holborn Bridge. They come on Thursdays.

The Carriers of Shrewsbury do lodge at the *Maidenhead* in Cateaton street, near Guildhall. They come on Thursdays.

The Carriers of Shrewsbury do also lodge at *Bosom's Inn*. They do come on Thursdays. And there do lodge Carriers that do travel divers parts of the county of Shropshire and places adjoining.

The Carrier from Stony Stratford doth lodge at the *Rose and Crown* in Saint John's street. He cometh every Tuesday.

There doth come from Saffron Market in Norfolk a Foot Post who lodgeth at the *Chequer* in Holborn.

The Carriers of Stamford do lodge at the *Bell* in Aldersgate street. They do come on Wednesdays and Thursdays.

The Waggon from Saffron Walden in Essex doth come to the *Bull* in Bishopsgate street. It is to be had there on Tuesdays and Wednesdays.

The Carriers of Shaftesbury, and from Sherborne in Dorsetshire, do lodge at the *Crown* or *Jarret's Hall* in Basing lane near Bread street. They come on Fridays.

The Carriers from Stopford in Cheshire do lodge at the *Axe* in [Saint Mary Axe] Aldermanbury. Also there are Carriers to other parts of Cheshire.

The Carriers of Stafford and other parts of that county, do lodge at the *Swan with two Necks* in Lad lane. They come on Thursdays.

T.

CARRIERS from Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire do lodge at the *Three Cups* in Bread street. They come and go on Fridays and Saturdays.

The Carriers of Tiverton in Devonshire do lodge at the *Star* in Bread street. They come on Fridays, and return on Saturdays or Mondays.

The Carriers of Thame in Oxfordshire do lodge at the *Saracen's Head* in Carter lane. They come and go on Fridays and Saturdays.

The Carriers of Torcester in Northamptonshire do lodge at the *Castle* near Smithfield-bars. They come on Thursdays.

V.

CARRIERS from Vies or the De-vises [*Devizes*] in Wiltshire, do lodge at the sign of the *Swan* near Holborn Bridge. They come on Thursdays, and go away on Fridays.

W.

THE Carrier from Wendover in Buckinghamshire doth lodge at the *Black Swan* in Holborn, and is there every Tuesday and Wednesday.

The Carrier of Witham in Essex doth lodge at the *Cross Keys* in Gracious street every Thursday and Friday.

The Carriers of Wallingfield in Suffolk do lodge at the *Spread Eagle* in Gracious street. They come and go on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers from Wallingford in Berkshire do lodge at the *George* in Bread street. Their days are Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire do lodge at the *Three Cups* in Bread street. They come and go on Fridays and Saturdays.

The clothiers of sundry parts of Wiltshire do weekly come and lodge at the *Saracen's Head* in Friday street.

The Carriers of Warwick do lodge at the *Bell* in Friday street. They are there on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Woodstock in Oxfordshire do lodge at the *Mermaid* in Carter lane on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Wantage in Berkshire do lodge at the *Mermaid* in Carter lane. Their days are Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers of Worcester do lodge at the *Castle* in Wood street. Their days are Fridays and Saturdays.

The Carriers of Winslow in Buckinghamshire do lodge at the *George* near Holborn Bridge; Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays.

The Waggon from Watford in Middlesex [*or rather* Hertfordshire] doth come to the *Swan* near Holborn Bridge on Thursdays.

The Carriers from Wells in Somersetshire do lodge at the *Rose* near Holborn Bridge. They come on Thursdays, and on Fridays.

The Carriers from Witney in Oxfordshire do lodge at the sign of the *Saracen's Head* without Newgate. They come on Wednesdays.

There cometh a Waggon from Winchester every Thursday to the *Swan* in the Strand: and some Carriers come thither from divers parts of Buckinghamshire; but the days of their coming are not certain.

The Carriers of Worcester do lodge at the *Maidenhead* in Cateaton street, near Guildhall. They come on Thursdays.

The Carriers from many parts of Worcestershire and Warwickshire do lodge at the *Rose and Crown* in High Holborn; but they keep no certain days.

The Carrier of Warwick doth come to the *Queen's Head* near Saint Giles in the Fields, on Thursdays.

The Carrier of Walsingham in Norfolk doth lodge at the *Chequer* in Holborn. He cometh every second Thursday.

The Carriers of Wendover in Buckinghamshire do lodge at the *Bell* in Holborn.

There doth a Post come every second Thursday from Walsingham to the *Bell* in Holborn.

The Carrier of Ware in Hertfordshire doth lodge at the *Dolphin* without Bishopsgate: and is there on Mondays and Tuesdays.

There is a Foot Post from Walsingham that doth come to the *Cross-keys* in Holborn every second Thursday.

There are Carriers from divers parts of Warwickshire that do come weekly to the *Castle* near Smithfield-bars: but their days of coming are variable.

There is a Waggon from Ware at the *Vine* in Bishopsgate street every Friday and Saturday.

The Carriers of Wakefield in Yorkshire do lodge at the *Bear* in Bassishaw. They do come on Wednesdays.

The Carriers of Wells in Somersetshire do lodge at the *Crown* in Basing lane near Bread street. They come and go on Fridays and Saturdays.

The Carriers of Wakefield, and some other parts of Yorkshire, do lodge at the *Axe* in [St. Mary Axe] Aldermanbury. They are to be had there on Thursdays.

The Carriers of Wakefield, and some other parts of Yorkshire, do also lodge at the *White Hart* in Coleman street. They come every second Thursday.

Y.

THE Carriers of York, with some other parts near York within that county, do lodge at the sign of the *Bell* or *Bell Savage* without Ludgate. They come every Friday, and go away on Saturday or Monday.

A Foot Post from York doth come every second Thursday to the *Rose and Crown* in St. John's street.

FOR SCOTLAND.

THOSE that will send any letter to Edinburgh, that so they may be conveyed to and fro to any parts of the kingdom of Scotland, the Post doth lodge at the sign of the *King's Arms* (or the *Cradle*) at the upper end of Cheapside: from whence, every Monday, any that have occasion may send.

The Inns and Lodgings of the Carriers which come into the Borough of Southwark out of the countries of Kent, Sussex and Surrey.

A CARRIER from Reigate in Surrey doth come every Thursday (or oftener) to the *Falcon* in Southwark.

The Carriers of Tunbridge, of Sevenoaks, of Faut and Staplehurst in Kent, do lodge at the *Katharine Wheel*. They do come on Thursdays and go away on Fridays. Also on the same days, do come hither the Carriers of Marden and Penbree, and from Warbleton in Sussex.

On Thursdays the Carriers of Hanckhurst and Blenchley in Kent, and from Dorking and Leatherhead in Surrey; do come to the *Greyhound* in Southwark.

The Carriers of Tenterden and Penshurst in Kent, and the Carriers from Battle in Sussex, do lodge at the sign of the *Spur* in Southwark. They come on Thursdays, and go away on Fridays.

To the *Queen's Head* in Southwark do come, on Wednesdays and Thursdays, the Carriers from Portsmouth in Hampshire; and from Chichester, Havant, Arundel, Billingshurst, Rye,

Lamberhurst, and Wadhurst, in Sussex: also from Godstone and Linvill in Surrey. They are there to be had Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carriers from Cranbroke, and Bevenden in Kent; and from Lewes, Petworth, Uckfield and Cuckfield in Sussex: do lodge at the *Tabard* or *Talbot* in Southwark. They are there on Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays.

To the *George* in Southwark, come every Thursday the Carriers from Guildford, Wonersh, Goudhurst, and Chiddington in Surrey. Also thither come out of Sussex, on the same days weekly, the Carriers of Battle, Sindrich, and Hastings.

The Carriers from these places undernamed out of Kent, Sussex and Surrey, are every week to be had on Thursdays at the *White Hart* in the Borough of Southwark; namely, Dover, Sandwich, Canterbury, Biddenden, Mayfield, Eden (or Eaten Bridge), Hebsome, Wimbledon, Godaliman, (corruptly called Godly Man) Witherham, Shoreham, Enfield, Horsham, Haslemere. And from many other places far and wide in the said Counties; Carriers are to be had almost daily at the said inn, but especially on Thursdays and Fridays.

The Carrier from Chiltington, Westrum, Penborough, Slenge, Wrotham, and other parts of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, do lodge at the *King's Head* in Southwark. They do come on Thursdays, and they go on Fridays.

Every week there cometh and goeth from Tunbridge in Kent a Carrier that lodgeth at the *Green Dragon* in Fowl lane in Southwark, near the Meal Market.

Here followeth certain directions for to find out Ships, Barks, Hoys and Passage Boats that do come to London, from the most parts and places by sea, within the King's dominions; either of England, Scotland or Ireland.

Hoy doth come from Colchester in Essex to Smart's Key near Billingsgate; by which goods may be carried from London to Colchester weekly.

He that will send to Ipswich in Suffolk, or Lynn in Norfolk; let him go to Dice Key, and there his turn may be served.

The ships from Kingston upon Hull (or Hull) in Yorkshire do come to Ralph's Key, and to Porter's Key.

At Galley Key, passage for men and carriage for goods may be had from London to Berwick.

At Chester's Key, shipping may be had from Ireland, from Poole, from Plymouth, from Dartmouth and Weymouth.

At Sabb's Docks, a Hoy or Bark is to be had from Sandwich or Dover in Kent.

A Hoy from Rochester, Margate in Kent or Feversham and Maidstone doth come to Saint Katherine's Dock.

Shipping from Scotland is to be found at the Armitage or Hermitage below Saint Katherine's.

From Dunkirk, at the Custom House Key.

From most parts of Holland or Zealand, pinks or shipping may be had at the brewhouses in Saint Katherine's.

At Lion Key, twice almost in every twenty-four hours, or continually, are Tide boats or Wherries; that pass to and fro betwixt London and the towns of Deptford, Greenwich,

Woolwich, Erith, and Greenhithe in Kent; and also boats are to be had that every tide do carry goods and passengers betwixt London and Rainham, Purfleet, and Grayes in Essex.

At Billingsgate are, every tide, to be had Barges, Light horsemen, Tiltboats and Wherries, from London to the towns of Gravesend and Milton in Kent, or to any other place within the said bounds; and as weather and occasions may serve, beyond or further.

Passage Boats and Wherries that do carry passengers and goods from London, and back again thither East or West above London Bridge.

TO BULL Wharf, near Queenhithe, there doth come and go great boats twice or thrice every week, which boats do carry goods betwixt London and Kingston upon Thames. Also thither doth often come a boat from Colebrooke; which serveth those parts for such purposes.

Great Boats that do carry and recarry passengers and goods to and fro betwixt London and the towns of Maidenhead, Windsor, Staines, Chertsey, with other parts in the counties of Surrey, Berkshire, Middlesex and Buckinghamshire; do come every Monday and Thursday to Queenhithe; and they do go away upon Tuesdays and Thursdays.

The Reading Boat is to be had at Queenhithe weekly.

All those that will send letters to the most parts of the habitable world, or to any parts of our King of Great Britain's Dominions; let them repair to the General Post Master THOMAS WITHERING at his house in Sherburne lane, near Abchurch.

FINIS.

THE WORTH OF A PENNY:

OR A

Caution to keep Money.

With the

Causes of the scarcity and misery of the want hereof, in these hard and merciless Times.

AS ALSO

How to save it in our diet, apparel, recreations, &c.

And also

What honest courses men in want may take to live.

By H. P., Master of Arts.

LONDON,
Printed *Ann. Dom.* 1647.

[This date is a misprint, apparently for 1641. This first edition was privately printed, see *p.* 248.]

(We have been careful to distinguish in the present text, what PEACHAM himself wrote, from the additions by his friend [*p.*] and others, in the posthumous editions of **1664**, **1667**, **1669**, and **1676**.

All such fresh matter, whether in the text or side-notes, is shewn between square brackets, [ ].)

To the every way deserving and worthy Gentleman, Master RICHARD GIPPS, eldest son unto Master RICHARD GIPPS, one of the Judges of the Court of Guild-hall, in the city of London.

SIR,

HEN I finished this discourse of The Worth of a Penny, or A Caution to keep Money, *and bethinking myself unto whom I should offer the Dedication; none came more opportunely into my thought, than yourself! For I imagined, if I should dedicate the same unto any penurious or miser-able minded man, it would make him worse, and be more uncharitable and illiberal: if unto a bountiful and free-minded Patron, I should teach him to hold his hand; and, against his nature, make him a miser. I, to avoid either, made choice of yourself! who being yet unmarried, walk alone by yourself; having neither occasion of the one nor the other.*

Besides, you have travelled [in] France and Italy, and I hope have learned Thrift in those places: and understand what a virtue Parsimony is, for want thereof, how many young heirs in England have galloped through their estates, before they have been thirty!

Lastly, my obligation is so much to your learned and good father, and (for goodness) your incomparable mother; that I should ever have thought the worse of myself, if I had not cum tota mea supellex sit chartacea, *as ERASMUS saith, I had not expressed my duty and hearty love to you, one way or other.*

Whose in all service,

I am truly,

HENRY PEACHAM.

[An Advertisement to the Reader.

By WILLIAM LEE, the Publisher, in 1664, and 1667.

1664. Master PEACHAM, many years since, having finished this little book of *The Worth of a Penny*, did read it unto me; and some eminent friends of his, being then present, we were much pleased with his conceits. The chief intent of printing it, was to present them [*copies*] to his friends.

But some years after, Mr. PEACHAM dying, and the book being so scarce that most of the considerable booksellers in London had never heard of it, many Gentlemen of great worth were very importunate with me, to print the book anew: but after much search and inquiry, I found the book without any printer's name, and without any true date [*i.e.*, 1647 *instead* 1641 *or* 2]; and having procured it, to be licensed and entered [*in* 1664], and corrected all the mistakes in it, I have, in an orderly way, reprinted a small number of them, word for word, as it was in the original. Only a friend of his, that knew him well in the Low Countries, and when he was Tutor to the Earl of ARUNDEL's children, hath added some notes in the margent, and translated some Greek and Latin sentences, which were omitted in the first impression.

To speak much of the worth of the Author is needless, who, by his own Works, hath left unto the World a worthy memorial of himself; his book called *The complete Gentleman*, being in the year 1661, reprinted the third time: and divers others books of his.

And, Reader, know, that there is no felicity in this life, nor comfort at our death, without a good conscience in a healthful body, and a competent estate: and most remarkable is the saying of that eminent wise man—

Industry is Fortune's right hand, and Frugality her left.

Read this book over, and if thou hast a Penny, it will teach thee how to keep it; and if thou hast not a Penny, it will teach thee how to get it. And so, farewell. W. L.

1667. Reader, I reprinted this little book about two years since [*June* 24, 1664], and the number printed presently selling in a few days all away, I intended suddenly to have printed it again; but the great judgement of that fearful Plague, 1665, hindered the printing of it: and it being afterwards fitted for the press, the late dreadful Fire burnt that copy [*edition*] with many thousands of other books burnt with it.

But now [*May* 17, 1667], it is so well fitted and corrected; with some useful additions printed in a change of letter [*Italic type, as also in this* 1883 *edition*] that, with your good husbandry it will so increase your store, that you may have "a penny to spend, a penny to lend, and a penny for thy friend."

The number of books [*copies*] printed then [1664] was so much sold off within a few days in London, that there hath not been books left for to serve the country, not one for every shire in England! that the country at this day, is altogether unfurnished with them. W. L.]

THE WORTH OF A PENNY: *OR A* Caution to keep Money.

HE Ambassador [J. BEN ABDELLA] of MULEY HAMET Sheik, King of Morocco, when he was in England, about four or five years since [*He arrived in London on October* 8, 1637], said on a time, sitting at dinner at his house at Wood street, "He thought verily, that Algiers was four times as rich as London." An English merchant replied that he "thought not so; but that London was far richer than that! and for plenty, London might compare with Jerusalem, in the peaceful days of SOLOMON."

For my part, I believe neither! especially the merchant. For, in the time of SOLOMON, silver was as plentiful in Jerusalem as stones in the street: but with us, stones are in far more abundance, when, in every street in London, you may walk over five thousand loads, ere you will find a single Penny. Again, the general complaint and murmur throughout the Kingdom, of the scarcity and want of money, argues that we fall far short of that plenty which the merchant imagined.

And, one time, I began to bethink myself, and to look into the causes of our want and this general scarcity: and I found them manifold.

First, some men, who, by their wits or industry, or both, have screwed or wound themselves into vast estates, and gathered thousands like the griffins of Bactria; when they have met with a gold mine, so brood over and watch it, day and night, that it is impossible for Charity to be regarded, Virtue rewarded, or Necessity relieved: and this we know to have been the ruin, not only of such private persons themselves, but of whole Estates and Kingdoms. That I may instance one for many. Constantinople was taken by the

Turk, when the citizens abounding in wealth and money, would not part with a penny in the common necessity: no, not for the repair of their battered walls! or the levying of soldiers to defend them.

Another sort doat upon the stamp of their money, and the bright lustre of their gold; and, rather than they will suffer it to see the light, will hide it in hills, old walls, thatch or tiles of their houses, tree roots, and such places: as, not many years since, at Wainfleet in Lincolnshire, there was found in digging of a back side to sow hemp in, an old rusty helmet of iron, rammed in full of pieces of gold with the picture and arms of King HENRY I. And money thus hid, the owner seldom or never meets withal again; being, many times, prevented by sudden death, by casualty, or their forgetfulness.

[Helmets eaten through with their own rust, have been found filled with monies of ancient inscription. 1664.]

Monsieur GAULART, a Great Man of France, though none of the wisest, in the times of the Civil Wars, buried some 2,000 crowns [=£600=£3,000 *now*], a mile or two from his house, in an open fallow field: and that he might know the place again, took his mark from the spire of a steeple that was right against the place. The wars being ended, he came, with a friend of his, as near the place as he could guess, to look for his money. Which he not finding, and wondering what the reason should be, after, in the circumference, he had gone about the steeple, being right against it which way soever he went; quoth he to his friend, "Is there no cheating knave, think you! in the steeple, that turns it about, intending to cheat me of my money?" imagining that it went round and himself stood still, as COPERNICUS did of the Globe of the Earth.

[About 35 years since [1629], not far from Dunstable, many pieces of silver were taken up; which the plough had thrown upon the edge of the furrow. Being examined, they were found to be silver, with the impression of CÆSAR on them. Mr. JOHN SELDEN much valued them for their antiquity: some of them having been stamped, as he said, above 900, and some a 1000 years. 1664.]

Indeed, much money and treasure, in former times, as in the invasions of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans here with us, and of others in other places, hath been this way bestowed; and for this reason, in such troublesome times, become scarce for whole Ages after, but this is no true cause of want of money in our Times: wherein, it is true, we have little money to hide; yet there are not wanting

[It is conceived many great sums of money are still under ground; which were buried there, during the heat of the late unnatural wars. 1664.]

among us, those *monedulæ* or money-hiding daws, who repine and envy that either King or country should be one penny better (yea, even in the greatest extremity!) for what they have conveyed into their holes.

And most true it is, that money so heaped up in chests and odd corners, is like, as one saith, to dung; which while it lieth upon a heap doth no good, but dispersed and cast abroad, maketh fields fruitful. Hence ARISTOTLE concludeth that the prodigal man is more beneficial to, and deserveth better of, his country, than the covetous miser. Every trade and vocation fareth the better for him, as the tailor, haberdasher, vintner, shoemaker, sempster, hostler, and the like.

The covetous man is acquainted with none of these. For instead of satin, he suits himself in sacken. He trembles, as he passeth by a tavern door, to hear a reckoning of 8*s.* [=30*s. now*] sent up into the Half Moon [? *bow window*] for wine, oysters, and faggots: for his own natural drink, you must know! is between that the frogs drink [*simple water*] and a kind of pitiful small beer too bad to be drunk, and somewhat too good to drive a water mill. The haberdasher gets as little by him as he did by an old acquaintance of mine at Lynn in Norfolk: who, when he had worn a hat eight and thirty years, would have petitioned Parliament against haberdashers for abusing the country, in making their ware so slight! For the shoemaker, he hath as little to do with him, as ever TOM CORYAT had. For sempsters, it is true, that he loves their faces better than their fashions. For Plays, if he read but their titles upon a post [*the Bill of the Play*], it is enough. Ordinaries [*Eating-houses with table d'hôtes*] he knows none! save some of three pence [*i.e., a threepenny* (=1*s. now*) *dinner*], in Black Horse Alley, and such places. For tapsters and hostlers, they hate him as hell! as not seeing a mote in his cup once in seven years. [*This miser-able Master supped his man and himself, at the inn, with a quart of milk!* **1664.**]

Scar beer, brewed with Broom in the Low Countries at 1½*d.* [=5*d. now*] the gallon, is much like it.

Another cause of scarcity and want of money are peaceful Times, the nurses of pride and idleness; wherein people increase, yet hardly get employment. Those of the richer and abler sort give themselves to observe and follow every fashion; as what an infinite sum of money goeth out of this kingdom into foreign parts, for the fuel of our fashionable pride!

Let me hereto add the multitude of strangers that daily come over into our warmer soil, as the cranes in winter betake themselves to Egypt; where, having enriched themselves through our folly and pride, they return and purchase great estates in their own countries: enhancing there, our monies to a higher rate, to their excessive gain and the impoverishing our people of England.

[The English gold being at a higher value beyond the seas than in our own nation, is a great cause of the transportation of it. 1664.]

Let me add hereto besides, the great sums of money and many other great and rich gifts, which have been formerly conferred on strangers: which, how they have been deserved, I know not! Some, I am sure! like snakes taken up, and having got warmth from the Royal fire, have been ready to hiss at and sting, as much as in them lieth, both their finders and their founders.

Again, there is an indisposition of many to part with money in these tickle Times: being desirous if the worst should happen, to "have their friends about them," as Sir THOMAS MORE said, filling his pockets with gold, when he was carried to the Tower.

There is likewise almost a sensible decay of Trade and traffic: which being not so frequent, as heretofore, by reason, as some would have it, the seas are now more pestered with pirates than in times past; the "receipt of custom," like the stomach, wanting the accustomed nourishment, is constrained to suck it from the neighbour[ing] veins to the ill disposition and weakening of the whole body.

They are no few or small sums, which, in Pieces of Eight [*i.e., eight Rials, the present Mexican dollar* = 4*s.* 3*d. now*] are carried over to the East Indies: no doubt to the great profit and enriching of some in particular; but whether of the whole Kingdom in general, I know not!

[How much gold is conveyed thither in every Fleet. 1664.]

What hurt, our late questioned Patentees, in Latin *Hirudines* [*bloodsuckers*], have done to the common body, in sucking and drawing forth even the very life-blood from it; we know daily, and more we shall know shortly.

I wish some of the craftiest and most dangerous among them, might be singled out for examples! remembering that of TACITUS:

Pœna ad paucos, timor ad multos.

[*The punishment to few, but the terror to many.* **1664.**]

All people complain generally, as I have said, of the want of money; which, like an epidemical disease, hath over-run the whole land. The City hath little Trading [*which is the Mother of Money: for he who buys and sells, feels not what he spends.* **1667**]. Country farmers complain of their rents yearly raised (especially by their Catholic landlords, which, in times past, have been accounted the best; though now the case is altered, and easily may the reason be guessed): yet can find no utterance for their commodities, or must sell them at under rates. Scholars, without money, get neither patrons nor preferment; mechanic artists [*skilled workmen*], no work: and the like of the other professions.

One very well compared worldly wealth or Money unto a Foot Ball: some few nimble-heeled and [nimble]-headed run quite away with it; when most are only lookers-on, and cannot get a kick at it, in all their lives.

Go but among the Usurers in their walk in Moor Fields, and see if you can borrow £100 [=£350 *now*] of any of them, without a treble security, with the use [*interest*], one way or other, doubled! and as yourself, so must your estate be particularly known!

A pleasant fellow came, not long since, to one of them, and desired him that he would lend him £50 [=£175 *now*].

Quoth the usurer, "My friend, I know you not!"

"For that reason only, I would borrow the money of you," [*said the other*, **1667**]; "for if you knew me, I am sure you would not lend me a penny!"

Another meets a creditor of his, in Fleet street: who seeing his old debtor, "Oh, Master A," quoth he, "you are met in good time! You know there is money between us, and hath been a long time; and now it is become a scarce commodity."

"It is true, Sir," quoth the other, "for," he looking down upon the stones that were between, "in good faith! I see none."

[A country tenant meeting with his miserable landlord, in the Term time, did offer him the courtesy of a pint of Sack. To whom the landlord said, "Be a good husband! and save one 6d. and give me the other! and I will take it as kindly as if you had spent the whole 12d." (*i.e., in the Two pints of Sack*). 1664.]

And this was all the citizen could get at that time; but afterwards, he was well satisfied.

Whom would it not vex, to be indebted to many of your shopkeepers? who, though they have had their bills truly paid

them for many years together, yet (upon the smallest distaste of a petty mistake, reckoning, or some remnant behind) will be called upon! openly railed at! by their impudent and clamorous wives, insulted over! and lastly, arrested! which should, methinks, teach every young Fashion-monger, either to keep himself out of debt, or money in his purse to provide CERBERUS a sop.

Another misery proceeding from the want of money is that when it is due unto you, by your own labour or desert, from some rich miser-able, or powerful man or other, by long waiting, day by day, yea hourly attendance, at his house or lodging; you not only lose your time and opportunity of getting it elsewhere, and when all is done, to be paid after five in the hundred, in his countenance, or else fair and candid promises, which will enrich you straight!

Promissis dives quilibet esse potest.
[*If words and promises would pass for coin; there would be no man poor.* **1664**[.

And some poor men there are, of that currish and inhuman nature: whom, if you shall importune through urgent necessity, then are you in danger to lose both your monies and their favour for ever.

Would you prefer and place your son in the University? Let him deserve never so well, as being an able and ready Grammarian, yea, Captain of his Form! you shall very hardly prefer him, without Great Friends joined with your great Purse! For those just and charitable Times wherein Desert seldom went without its due, are gone!

The like, I may say of the City: where, if the Trade [*line of business*] be anything like, you cannot place your son, under £60 *or* £100 [=£210 *or* £350 *now*]; though by nature he were, as many are, made for the same, and of wit and capacity never so pregnant.

Or have you a daughter, by birth well descended, virtuous, chaste, fair, comely, endued with the best commendable qualities that may be required in a young, beautiful, and modest Maid: if you have not been, in your life-time, thrifty to provide her a Portion, she may live till she be as old as CREUSA, or the Nurse of ÆNEAS, ere you shall get her a good Match!

Nam genus et formam Regina Pecunia donat,
[*Money 's a Queen ! that doth bestow*
Beauty and Birth to high and low. **1664.**]

is as true as old. Hence the Dutch have a proverb, that "Gentility and Fair Looks buy nothing in the market."

If you happen to be sick and ill; if your purse hath been lately purged, the Doctor is not at leisure to visit you! yea, hardly your neighbours and familiar friends! But unto monied and rich men, they fly as bees to the willow palms! and, many times, they have the judgement of so many, that the Sick is in more danger of them, than of his disease.

A good and painful Scholar having lately taken his Orders, shall be hardly able to open a Church door without a Golden Key, when he should ring his bells [*i.e., ring himself in*]. Hence it comes to pass, that so many of our prime wits run over sea to seek their fortunes; and prove such vipers to their mother country.

Have you but an ordinary suit in law, let your cause or case be never so plain or just, if you want wherewith to maintain it, and, as it were, ever and anon to water it at the root, it will quickly wither and die!

I confess friends may do much to promote it, and may prevail by their powerful assistance in the prosecution [*as by the following story appears.* **1667.**]

There was, of late years, in France, a marvellous fair and goodly Lady, whose husband being imprisoned for debt or something else, was constrained to be his Solicitor, and, in her own person, to follow his suit in law, through almost all the Courts in Paris; and indeed, through her favour, got extraordinary favour among the Lawyers and Courtiers, and almost a final despatch of all business: only she wanted the King's hand, who was HENRY IV. of famous memory. He, as he was a noble, a witty, and an understanding Prince, understanding how well she had sped (her suit having been, in the opinion of most men, desperate or lost), told her that "for his part, he would willingly sign her *Petition*." Withal, he asked her, "How her husband did?" and bade her, from himself, to tell him, "That had he not pitched upon his horns, he had utterly been spoiled and crushed!" [*Beauty if not well governed, proves more an enemy than a friend.* 1669.]

So that hereby was the old proverb verified, "A Friend in Court is better than a Penny in the Purse." But, as friends go nowadays, I had rather seek for them in my purse, than in the Court: and I believe many Courtiers are of my mind.

It is good to have friends; but it is far better never to have need of them. 1669.

Again, to teach every one to make much of and to keep money, when he hath it; let him seriously think with himself, What a misery it is, and how hard a matter to borrow it! And most true it is, that one saith:

Semper comitem Æris Alieni esse Miseriam.
That Misery is ever the companion of Borrowed Money.

Hereby, a Man is made cheap and undervalued! despised! deferred! mistrusted! oftentimes flatly denied! and besides, upon the least occasion, upbraided therewith, in company and among friends!

And sometimes, Necessity drives men to be beholden to such as, at another time, they would scorn to be! wherein the old saying is verified—

Miserum est debere cui nolis.
[*A miserable thing it is, to owe money to him, whom thou wouldst not!* **1664.**]

And, on the contrary, how bold, confident, merry, lively, and ever in humour, are Moneyed Men. [*For being out debt, they are out of danger!* **1667.**] They go where they list! They wear what they list! They eat and drink what they list! And as their minds, so their bodies are free!

[They need not go by ways, but are street proof. 1664.]

They fear no City Serjeant, Court Marshal's man, or Country Bailiff. Nor are they followed or dogged home to their Ordinaries and lodgings, by City shopkeepers and other creditors: but they come to their houses and shops, where they are bidden welcome; and if a stool be fetched [*i.e., for them*] into the shop, it is an extraordinary favour, because all passers by take notice of it. And these men can bring their wives or friends to see in Court, the King and Queen at dinner, or to see a Masque; by means of some eminent man of the Guard, or the carpenter that made the scaffold [*i.e., for the Masque*].

The common and ordinary Causes why men are poor and want money.

THERE must, by the Divine Providence, in the Body of the Common wealth, be as well poor as rich; for as a human body cannot subsist without hands and feet to labour, and to walk about, to provide for other members; the rich being the belly, which devour all yet do no part of the work: but the cause of every man's poverty is not one and the same.

[The blessing of GOD upon the prosperity of the industrious and contented. 1664.]

Some are poor by condition, and, content with their calling, neither seek, nor can work themselves into a better fortune: yet GOD raiseth up, as by miracle, the children and posterity of these, oftentimes, to possess the most eminent places, either in Church or Commonwealth, as to become Archbishops, Bishops, Judges, Commanders, Generals in the field, Secretaries of State, Statesmen, and the like. So that it proveth not ever true, which MARTIAL saith,

Pauper eris semper, si pauper es ÆMILIANE!
If poor thou beest; poor, shalt thou ever be!
ÆMILIANUS, I assure thee!

Of this condition are the greatest number in every Kingdom.

Others there are, who have possessed great estates, but those estates, as I have seen and known it in some families, and not far from the City, have not thrived or continued; as gotten by oppresson, deceit, usury, and the like: which commonly lasteth not to the Third generation; according to the old saying:

De male quæsitis vix gaudet tertius hæres.
[*The Grandchild seldom is the heir*
Of goods that evil gotten are. **1664.**]

Others come to want and misery, and spend their fair estates in ways of vicious living, as upon drink and women: for BACCHUS and VENUS are inseparable companions; and he that is familiar with the one, is never a stranger to the other.

Uno namque modo, Vina VENUS*que nocent.*
[*In one same way, manner, and end;*
Both Wine and Women do offend. **1664.**]

Some again live in perpetual want, as being naturally wholly given to idleness [*which turns the edge of Wit, and is the Key of Beggary.* **1667.**] These are the drones of the Common wealth, who deserve not to live.

Qui non laborat, non manducet.

[*He that laboureth not, must not eat.*

"*Labour, night and day! rather than be burdensome,*" *saith St.* PAUL. **1664.**]

Both country and City swarm with this kind of people. "The diligent hand," saith SOLOMON, "shall make rich; but the sluggard shall have scarcity of bread."

I remember, when I was in the Low Countries, there were three soldiers, a Dutchman, a Scot, and an Englishman, for their misdemeanours, condemned to be hanged. Yet their lives were begged by three several men. One, a Bricklayer, that he [*the Dutch soldier*] might help him to make bricks, and carry them to the walls. The other was a Brewer of Delft, who begged his man [*the Scot*] to fetch water, and do other work in the brewhouse. Now, the third was a Gardener, and desired the third man, to help him to work in and dress a hop-garden.

The first two accepted their offers thankfully. The Englishman told his master, in plain terms, "his friends never brought him up to gather hops!" but desired he might be hanged first: and so he was.

[The reasons of why persons of so great estates do suddenly consume themselves into nothing. 1664.]

Others having had great and fair estates left unto them by friends, and who never knew the pain and care of getting them, have, as one said truly, "galloped through them in a very short time."

These are such, of whom SOLOMON speaketh, "who, having riches, have not the hearts (or rather the Wit), to use them."

These men, HOMER, most aptly, compareth unto the Willow Tree, which he calleth by a most significant epithet ὠλεσί-καρπος, in Latin *frugi-perda*, or "loose fruit:" because the palms [*buds*] of the willow tree are no sooner ripe, but are blown away with the wind.

I remember, in Queen ELIZABETH's time, a wealthy citizen

of London left his son a mighty estate in money: who imagining he should never be able to spend it, would usually make "ducks and drakes" in the Thames, with Twelve pences [=5*s. now*], as boys are wont to do with tile sherds and oyster shells. And in the end, he grew to that extreme want, that he was fain to beg or borrow sixpence: having, many times, no more shoes than feet; and sometimes, "more feet than shoes," as the *Beggar* said in the Comedy.

[*Who more than his worth doth spend,*
Maketh a rope, his life to end! **1667.**]

Many also there are, who, having been born to fair estates, have quite undone themselves by marriage: and that, after a twofold manner.

First, by matching themselves, without advice of parents or friends, in heat of youth, unto proud, foolish, and light housewives, or such perfect "linguists," that one were better to take his diet in *Hell*,* than his dinner at home. And this is the reason so many of their husbands travel beyond the seas; or, at home, go from town to town, from tavern to tavern, to look for company: and, in a word, to spend anything to live anywhere, save at home in their own houses.

* A place near to Westminster Hall; where very good meat is dressed, all the Term time.

Others there are, again, who match themselves (for a little handsomeness and eye-pleasing Beauty, [*which, so soon as Poverty cometh in at the door, leapeth out of the window.* **1664.**] into very mean and poor kindred; and are sometimes drawn in hereto by broken knaves, necessitous parents, who are glad to meet with such, that they may serve them as props to uphold their decaying and ruinous families. And these poor silly young birds are commonly caught up before they be fledged, and pulled bare before ever they knew they had feathers: for their fathers-in-law or some near of the kin, as soon as they have seen one and twenty, have so belimed them with Bonds, that they shall hardly, as long as they live, be able to fly over ten acres of that land, their friends left them.

[*If Youth be joined with Honour and Riches, how dangerous, if the reins be then let loose, we see the many destructive effects it hath, and do work! but the Three joined with Wisdom, how honourable and noble are they all!*

But the greatest snare, the Author writes of, is Beauty: which, of itself, is a blessing. We see how comfortably the candle causes light, not offending in burning; yet the foolish fly offends in scorching itself in the flame! Yea, it is no small misery to become a temptation unto another, and to be made the occasion of other's ruin; Beauty being not well governed. Which fails, if the Soul answers not the Face! for the foulest souls often dwell fairest! How happy, if Virtue be joined thereto!

If Precepts will not forewarn thee, yet let a multitude of Examples affright thee from unequal and unfit marriages!

He that takes his full liberty in what he may, *shall repent him! how much more, in what he* should not! *Nothing can overturn him that hath power of himself! Learn first, by a just survey, to know the just due and lawful bounds of Pleasure! and then knowing the danger of going beyond a man's strength, use pleasures without dotage! I never knew a wise man that repented him of too little worldly pleasure. The surest course in all earthly delights is to rise* [therefrom] *with an appetite, and to be satisfied with moderation.* **1669.**]

A Knight of £8,000 or £10,000 [=£25,000 *or* £30,000 *now*] [by] land in a year, doated upon a poor Alewife's daughter, and made her a Lady. It cannot be denied but women of the meanest condition may make good wives; since

Paupertas non est vitium;
Poverty is no vice:

but herein is the danger, that when their husbands, in a short time, having as it were taken a surfeit of their beauties, and finding their error; they begin, as I have known many, to contemn them, and fly abroad, doat upon others, and devise all the ways they can (being grown desperate) to give or sell all that they have.

Besides, such poor ones, oftentimes, prove so impious and proud, as that they make no conscience to abuse, insult over, and make silly fools of their husbands; as by letting and disposing of their lands, gathering up his rents, putting away and entertaining what servants they list, to verify that old verse:

Asperius nihil est humili, cum surgit in altum.
There's nothing more perverse and proud than She,
Who is to Wealth advanced from Beggary.

An Italian Earl, about Naples, of 100,000 Crowns [=£30,000 *then* =£100,000 *now*] by the year in estate, married a common laundress. Whereupon old PASQUIN (the image of stone in Rome), the next Sunday morning or shortly after, had a foul and most filthy shirt put on his back, and this tart libel beneath :

" PASQUIN, how now ! a foul shirt upon a Sunday ! "

The *risposto* or answer, in PASQUIN's behalf was :

" I cannot help it, my laundress is made a Countess ! "

Besides, another inconvenience is that, besides the calling of his Wit and Judgement into question; he draws unto him so many leeches and down-drawers upon his estate, as his wife hath necessitous friends and kindred. But they that thus marry, are commonly such young men as are left to themselves : their parents, overseers [*guardians*], or faithful friends, being either dead, or far from them.

Others, not affecting marriage at all, live, as they say, " upon the Commons " : unto whom it is death to be put into the Several. They spend what they have, altogether in irregular courses of life, and in change of horses and lodgings, entertainment of new acquaintance, making great feasts in taverns, invitations and meetings of their common mistresses, coach hire, clothes in fashion, and the like. [*Who forget that old but true Proverb :*

Nil ait est prius, melius nil, cælibe vita.

Follow Pleasure, and Pleasure will fly !
Flee Pleasure, and Pleasure will be nigh ! **1667.**]

besides the hanging on and intrusion of some necessitous parasites; of whom they shall find as much use, as of water in their boots. [*And it is well said by one, that " he that overmuch studies his own contentment, ever wanteth it !"* **1667.**]

There are others, again, of overgood free natures and dispositions; who are easily fetched and drawn in by decayed and crafty knaves (I call them, no better !) to enter into bonds, and to pass their words for their old debts and engagements : and this they are wrought to do in taverns in their cups and merriment, at Ordinaries, and the like places.

The old Emblem of Suretyship.

I would have in the fairest room of one of these houses, an Emblem of a gallant young heir creeping in at the great end of a hunter's horn with ease; but cruelly pinched at the coming forth at the small end: a fool standing not far off, laughing at him. And these be those fools who will be so easily bound! and pass their words in their drink.

Facilis descensus Averni, sed revocare gradum.
['*Tis easy into hell to fall;*
But to come back from thence is all! **1664.**]

It is easy slipping in, but the return and getting out is full of difficulty.

Infinite also are the Casualties that are incident to the Life of Man, whereby he may fall into poverty: as misfortune by fire, loss at sea, robbery and theft on land, wounds, lameness, sickness, and the like.

Men run out of great estates, and have undone themselves by over sumptuous building, above and beyond their means and estates. [*For he that builds a fair house, without good counsel, builds himself to prison! It being a sweet impoverishment!* **1667.**]

Others have been undone by carelessness and thriftless servants, such as waste and consume their Masters' goods; [*for there is a great deal saved where a little is spent.* **1667.**]: neither saving nor mending what is amiss; but whatsoever they are entrusted withal, they suffer to be spoiled and to run to ruin. For

Qui modica spernit, paulatim defluit,

"He that despiseth small things, falls by little and little," says the Wise Man.

Some, yea, a great many, have brought themselves to beggary by play and gaming, and never lying [*staying*] out of Ordinaries and Dicing-houses: which places, like quicksands, so suddenly sink and swallow them, that hardly you shall ever see their heads appear any more. [*And so, these idle practices turn the edge of their Wit.* **1667.**]

Others, and Great Ones too, affect unprofitable, yea, impossible inventions and practices, as the Philosopher's Stone, the Adamantine Alphabet,* the discovery of that new world

* Possibly referring to Bp. F. GODWIN's book in 1638. E. A.

in the Moon by these new devised perspective glasses [*telescopes*], far excelling, they say, those of GALILEO, sundry kinds of useless wild fire, water works, extractions, distillations, and the like.

If any would be taught the true use of money, let him travel to Italy! For the Italian, the Florentine especially, is able to teach all the world, Thrift! For Italy being divided into many Principalities and Provinces, and all very fertile; the inhabitants are many, and by reason of so often differences among them, apt to take arms. The people are subject to taxes and impositions: as, in Florence, the Duke hath a custom [*octroi*] at the gates, even out of herbs that are brought for sallets [*sallads*] and broths into the city.

The Symptoms of a Mind dejected and discontented for want of money.

HE THAT wanteth money is, for the most part, extremely melancholic in every company, or alone by himself [*He is a Cypher among Numbers!* **1667.**] especially if the weather be foul, rainy, or cloudy. Talk to him, of what you will; he will hardly give you the hearing! Ask him any questions; he answers you with monosyllables, as TARLETON did one, who out-eat him at an Ordinary: "Yes! No! That! Thanks! True!" &c.

That rhetorical passage of *Status translativus* [*the State translative*, **1664.**] is of great use with him, when he lays the cause of his want upon others: as protesting, this great Lord, that Lady, or kinsman owes him money; but not a *denière* can he get! He swears, he murmurs against the French and other strangers, who convey such sums of money out of the land, besides our leather hides under the colour of calfskins: with that, he shews you his boots out at the heels, and wanting mending! He walks with his arms folded; his belt without a sword or rapier, that perhaps be somewhere in trouble. A hat without a band, hanging over his eyes; only it wears a weather-beaten fancy, for fashion' sake. He cannot stand still, but like one of the Tower wild beasts, is still walking from one end of his room to another, humming out some *new Northern tune* or other. If he meets with five or ten pieces happily [*by chance*]

[*The true Character of an indigent and discontented soldier.* 1664.]

conferred upon him, by the beneficence of some noble friend or other [*although he may carry all his friends on his back.* **1667.**]; he is become a new man! and so overjoyed with his fortune, that not one drop of small drink will down with him, all that day!

The misery of want of money in regard of contempt in the world.

WHOSOEVER wanteth money is ever subject to contempt and scorn in the world; let him be furnished with never so good gifts, either of body or mind. So that, most true it is, that one saith,

Nil habet infœlix paupertas durius in se
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit.

[*Nothing there is more hard in penury,*
Than that it makes men so despisèd be! **1664.**]

The worst property that Poverty hath, it maketh men ridiculous and scorned, but oftentimes of such as are more to be contemned themselves, in regard either of their ignorance, or vicious living, or useless company.

If we do but look back into better and wiser Ages, we shall find Poverty, simply in itself, never to have been, as nowadays in this last and worst Act of Time, esteemed a Vice, and so loathsome, as many would have it: it having been the Badge of Religion and Piety in the primitive times since CHRIST, and of Wisdom and Contempt of the World among the wisest Philosophers long before.

But *Tempora mutantur* [*The Times are changed.* **1664.**]. And in these Times, we may say with the Wise Man, "My son, better it is to die, than to be poor!" For, now, money is the World's God, and the Card, which the Devil turns up trump, to win the set withal! for it gives Birth, Beauty, Honour, and Credit; and the most think, it conferreth Wisdom to every possessor.

[Money, the god of the World, and the Devil's trump card. 1664.]

Pecuniæ omina obediunt.
[*All things obey money.* **1664.**]

Hence it is so admired, that millions venture both soul and body, for the possession of it.

But there is a worse effect of Poverty than that. It maketh men dissolute and vicious [*so that "Debtors are said to be liars."* **1664.**].

O mala Paupertas! vitii scelerisque Ministra,
[*O wretched Poverty, a bawd*
To every wickedness and fraud. **1664.**]

saith MANTUAN.

It wresteth and maketh crooked the best natures of all; which, were their necessities supplied, would rather die than do as they sometimes do, borrow and not be able to pay, to speak untruths, to deceive, and sometimes to cheat their own fathers and friends.

What greater grief can there be to an ingenious and free spirit, sitting at a superior's table (and thought to be necessitous and only to come for a dinner) than to be placed the lowest! to be carved unto of the worst and first cut, as of boiled beef brawn and the like! and if the Lady or loose-bodied Mistress presents unto him, the meat from her trencher, then assuredly it is burnt to the body [*we should now say "burnt to the bone"*]! if he be carved unto out of a pasty of venison, it was some part that was bruised in the carriage, and began to stink! yet for all this, he must be obsequious! endure any jeer! whisper for his drink! and rise, at the coming in of the basin and ewer! To do the which, any generous and true noble spirit had rather, as I am persuaded, dine with my Lord Mayor's hounds in Finsbury Fields. [The want of Money, the occasion of much contempt, deceit, and wickedness. 1664.]

Another misery, akin to the former, is, what discourse soever is offered at such tables, the necessitous man, though he can speak more to the purpose than them all; yet he must give them leave to engross all the talk! And though he knows they tell palpable and gross lies, speak the absurdest nonsense that may be: yet must he be silent! and be held all the while for a *vau-neant*!

Let these, and the like examples, then, be motives to all, to make much of Money! to eat their own bread in their houses! and to be beholden as little as may be, to any for their meat, For [*Endeavour to earn your bread before you eat it.* 1667.]

Est aliena vivere quadra, miserrimum.
[*It is most miserable to live on the trencher of another man.* **1664.**]

How Necessity and Want compelleth to offend both against body and soul.

"SEEK not Death, in the error of your lives!" saith the Wise Man; that is, by taking evil courses to procure unto yourselves untimely ends: as those do, who, through extreme necessity, are constrained to steal, lie, forswear themselves, become cheaters, common harlots, and the like; whereof, nowadays, we have too many examples everywhere, to the hazard of their souls to hell, and their bodies to the hands of the executioner. Wisdom.

Hereby, we may see, how much it concerns all parents to give their children virtuous education in the fear of GOD, and to employ them betimes in honest vocations; whereby they may be armed against want and ill courses. [*The duty of Parents for virtuous education to their children.* 1664.]

And doubtless many, yea, too many parents have been, and are herein much to blame; who, when they have given their children a little breeding and bringing up till about twelve or fourteen years of age, they forsake them! and send them out into the wide world to shift for themselves, to sink or swim! without trades or portions provided. So they be rid of a charge, what care they!

Hence we see so many young men and women come to untimely ends; who living might have been comforts to their friends and parents, and proved good members in the Common wealth.

[*Some years since, I saw one Master* WARD, *one of the debauchedst men of that Age, much known by the name of "Damn* WARD": *who, being in Newgate, it was reported that he did drink a health to the Devil.*

He being at Tyburn, at his execution did speak short, beginning thus, "A man of an ill name is half hanged!" saying, "he was in his youth brought up a Gentleman at the charge of his father's brother; but his uncle dying, his maintenance failed." Wishing all parents to beware how they breed their children above their means, and without a calling. Much blaming his uncle's fondness. Denying the drinking of such a Health; said "he was forced to live by his sword." Confessed his fact [crime]: *and so was executed.* **1667.**]

I spake before of idle persons, whom St. PAUL denieth to eat; which are the drones of the Common wealth, not to be pitied: Whom HOMER prettily described.

Of Frugality or Parsimony: what it is, and the effects thereof.

HAVING already shewed you the Misery of Want from the want of money; let me give you a Preservative against that Want, from the nature and effects of Thrift, which if not observed and looked to, he shall live in perpetual want.

And indeed, next to the serving of GOD, it is the first thing we ought, even from children, to learn in the world.

Some men are thrifty and sparing by nature; yea, saving even in trifles. As CHARLES V. was so naturally sparing, that if a point [*tag*] from his hose had broken, he would have tied the same upon [*in*] a knot, and made it to serve again.

Others again are thrifty in small matters, but lavish and prodigal in great. These, we say, "are Penny wise, and Pound foolish!" Many great Ladies and our great Dames are subject to this disease. [*The disease of many Ladies, and some Gentlewomen.* 1664.]

Others having had long experience in the world, and having been bitten with Want, through their unthriftiness when they were young, have proved very good husbands at the last.

Others again there be, who cloak their miserable baseness under the pretence of Thrift: as one would endure none of his family to eat butter with an egg but himself; because it was sold for 5d. [=18*d. now*] the lb.

The definition of Frugality or Thrift.

FRUGALITY is a virtue which holdeth her own, layeth out or expendeth profitably, avoideth unnecessary expenses, much buying, riot, borrowing, lending, superfluous buildings, and the like: yet can spend, in a moderate way, as occasion shall require, [*as, That Groat is well spent! that saveth a Shilling.*

Many years since, a very aged Gentleman having bought wares of a citizen in London; the master sends a young boy, his apprentice, to carry the goods with the said party.

The old Gentleman gave the boy a single Penny, saying, "I give thee but this small piece of money; but I will give thee good counsel! That when thy master's more liberal customers have given thee, to the value of One Shilling, then spend but One Penny! and when it increaseth to Two Shillings, spend Two pence! and keep the money, spending thus sparingly, and thou mayest be a rich man, many years after my death!"

The boy observing this rule, did "make his penny" with diligence and a small portion, up to thousands of pounds. **1667.**]

It is a virtue very nearly allied to Liberality, and hath the same extremes. For as Liberality is opposite to Covetousness, so Frugality is more opposite to Profuseness or Prodigality. [*For he that liveth not well one year, sorroweth for it seven years after.* **1667.**]

This virtue is the Fountain or Springhead of Beneficence and Liberality: for none can be bountiful except they be parsimonious and thrifty. *Bonus Servatius facit bonum Bonifacium*, is an old Monkish, but true, proverb. *Quod cessat reditu ex frugalitate suppletur, ex quo velut fonte liberalitas nostra decurrit, quæ ita tamen temperanda est, ne nimia profusione inarescat*, saith SENECA. [*That which becometh defecteth in our revenues is to be supplied by Thrift: from whence, as from a fountain, our Liberality floweth; which, notwithstanding, is so to be moderated that it grow not dry by too much profuseness.* **1664.**]

It avoideth the ambitious buildings, pomps, shows, Court

maskings, with excessive feasts and entertainments. As MARK ANTONY spent, at one supper, a thousand wild boars. HELIOGABALUS had served him up at a supper likewise, six hundred heads of ostriches. VITELLIUS, at one feast, had two thousand fishes, and mostly of several kinds; besides seven thousand fowls.

For the Romans had no dinners, but suppers; which were about three of the clock in the afternoon

Many such like feasts have been made by the Roman Emperors; and some so excessive, that an infinite quantity of bread, meat, and other good victuals, all sorts of people being satisfied, hath been thrown into the river of Tiber.

Again, on the other side, there are miserable EUCLIOS and base penurious slaves to be found in all parts; yea, in every town of the kingdom. As one at Priors Thorney, near to Swaffham in Norfolk, made his man pay a penny out of his wages for a rope he [? *the servant*] cut [down], when he [? *the master*] was hanging of himself in his barn.

Another, in the Spring time, because [*in order that*] the market should not thrive by him, would make boys climb trees and search steeples, for all the crows and daws they could find: which he lived upon, while they lasted, to save other victuals.

Now there is an *αὐτάρκεια*, or a Self-contented Sufficiency, which is most pleasing and agreeable to the nature of many men. As PHOCION, when ALEXANDER had sent him a gift of a hundred talents of gold: he sent it back with this message, that "he needed not ALEXANDER's money." *ἐπιδείξας πλουσιώτερον τοῦ διδόντος τοσαῦτα*, &c. [*Thou hast shewed thyself a richer man than the owner himself!* **1664**] be the words of PLUTARCH.

[Shewing he was richer than he that gave it. 1664.]

The derivation of the word Penny, and of the value and worth thereof.

OUR English Penny consists of four Farthings. And a Farthing is so called from the old Saxon or High Dutch [*German*] *Ein viert ding*, that is, a fourth thing: because from the Saxons' time until EDWARD III., the Penny of this land had a cross struck so deep in the

midst thereof, that you might break out any part of the four, to buy what you thought good withal; which was, in those times, their Farthing.

The word Penny is so called, *ἀπὸ τῆς πενίας*, that is, Poverty; because, for the most part, poor people are herewith relieved. The old Saxon called it *Penig*, the High Dutch *Pfennig*, the Netherlanders *Penninck*, in Italian *Denaro*, in Spanish *Dinero*, in Latin *Denarius*, which some fetch from the Chaldean *Denar*, but somebody hath taught the Chaldean to speak Latin. It is indeed derived *à numero denario*, because *decem asses* made a Penny; or, according to PLUTARCH, *a decem æreis*, *καὶ τὸ δεκάχαλκον ἐκαλεῖτο δηνάριον*. [*Ten small pieces of brass were called a Penny.* **1664.**]

In the British or Welsh, it is *Keniog* from being current, because it goes away faster than other money: as *Scavernog* is Welsh for a hare, because she runs over the mountains faster than an ordinary runner in Wales can overtake or catch her; as my honest friend Master OWEN MORGAN, that country-man once, in good earnest, told me.

There are as many kind of Pence, as there are several countries or nations. Our English penny is a Scotch shilling.

In the time of King EDWARD I. our English Penny being round and unclipped, was to weigh thirty grains of wheat taken out of the midst of the ear. Twenty of these grains made an ounce, and twelve [of these] ounces made a pound.

There were also golden pence, as we may find in DIDYMUS CLAUDIUS *de analogia Romanorum*. In a word, I might discourse *ad infinitum*, of the variety of Pence, as well for the form and stamp as weight and value; though I sought no further than among those of our Saxon kings, but it were needless. I will only content myself with our ordinary Penny, and stay the reader a while upon the not unpleasant consideration of the simple worth of a single Penny; reflecting or looking back, as oft as I can (and as PLINY adviseth), upon my *Title*.

The simple worth of a single Penny.

A PENNY bestowed in charity upon a poor body shall not want a heavenly reward.

For a Penny, you may, in the Low Countries, in any market, buy eight several commodities; as nuts, vinegar, grapes, a little cake, onions, oatmeal, and the like.

A Penny bestowed in a small quantity of aniseed, *aqua vitæ*, or the like strong water, may save one's life in a fainting or swoon.

[*At the Apothecaries, you may buy a pennyworth of any of these things following, viz., Lozenges for a cold or cough; Juice of Liquorish* [liquorice], *or Liquorish; a Diachilon plaster for an issue; Paracelsus, Oil of Roses, Oil of St. John's Wort, a pennyworth of each is good for a sprain; Syrup-lettuce, to make one sleep; Jallop, to give a purge; Mithridate, to make you sweat if you have taken cold, or good to expel and prevent infection; Diascordium Diacodium, if you cannot sleep.* **1667.**]

For a Penny, you may hear a most eloquent oration upon our English Kings and Queens, if, keeping your hands off, you will seriously listen to DAVID OWEN, who keeps the Monuments at Westminster [*i.e., the Abbey*].

Some, for want of a Penny [*for a ferry or boat across the Thames*], have been constrained to go from Westminster, about by London Bridge to Lambeth; and might say truly, *Defessi sumus abulando.*

You may have in Cheapside, your Penny tripled in the same kind: for you shall have Penny Grass, Penny Wort, and Penny Royal for your Penny.

For a Penny, you may see any Monster, Jacknapes; or those roaring boys, the Lions.

For a Penny, you may have all the news in England and other countries, of murders, floods, witches, fires, tempests, and what not, in one of MARTIN PARKER'S *Ballads* [*in the weekly* News books. **1664**].

For a Penny, you may have your horse rubbed and walked, after a long journey; and [it] being at grass, there are some that will breathe [*exercise*] him for nothing.

For a Penny, you may buy a fair cucumber; but not a breast of mutton! except it be multiplied [*maggoty*].

For a Penny, you may buy Time, which is precious; yea, and Thrift too, if you be a bad husband.

For a Penny, a hostess or an hostler [*innkeeper*] may buy as much chalk as will score up £30 or £40 [= £120 *or* £160 *now*]; but how to come by their money, that let them look to!

For a Penny, you may have your dog wormed [*cured of worms*], and so be kept from running mad.

For a Penny [*doubled.* **1664**], a drunkard may be guarded to his lodging, if his head be light and the evening dark.

For a Penny, you shall tell what will happen a year hence, (which the Devil himself cannot do!) in some *Almanack* or other rude country.

A hard-favoured and ill-bred wench made Penny white, may, as our Times are, prove a gallant Lady.

For a Penny, you may be advanced to that height that you shall be above the best in the City; yea, the Lord Mayor himself! that is, to the top of Paul's.

For a Penny, a miserable and covetous wretch that never did, nor never will, bestow a penny on a Doctor or Apothecary for their physic or advice, may provide a remedy for all diseases [*viz., a halter.* **1664**].

[*For a Penny, you may buy a dish of coffee* (not yet sold in cups), *to quicken your stomach and refresh your spirits.* **1664.**]

For a Penny, you may buy the hardest book in the world, and which, at some time or other, has posed the greatest Clerks in the land, viz., a hornbook [*the making up of which books employeth above thirty trades.* **1664**].

In so great esteem, in former times, have our English pence been, that they have been carried to Rome by cart loads [*i.e., Peter's Pence*].

For a Penny, you may search among the Rolls, and withal give the Master good satisfaction. I mean, in a baker's basket.

For a Penny, a chambermaid may buy as much red ochre as will serve, seven years, for the painting of her cheeks.

For a Penny, the Monarch of a free school, may provide himself of so many arms, as will keep all his rebellious subjects in awe.

For a Penny, you may walk within one of the fairest gardens in the City, and have a nosegay or two made you of what sweet flowers you please [*to satisfy your sense of smelling.* **1664**].

[*And for a Penny, you may have that so useful at your trencher, as will season your meat to please your taste, a month.* **1664.**]

For a Penny, you may buy as much wood of that tree, which is green all the year and beareth red berries, as will cure any shrew's tongue, if it be too long for her mouth [*viz.*, *a holly wand.* **1664**].

A Penny may save the credit of many. As it did of four or five young* scholars in Cambridge, who, going into the town to break their fast with puddings, having sent to their college for bread and beer, the hostess brought them twelve puddings, broiled; and finding among themselves that they had but eleven pence, they were much troubled about the other penny, not having any book about them, to lay in pawn for it.

* Some of them are yet living in London.

Quoth one, bolder than the rest, "*Audaces fortuna juvat:*" "Fortune favours the venturous;" and biting off a piece of the pudding's end, by wonderful luck, spat out a single penny, that paid for it; which, it seems, was buried in the oatmeal or spice. So for that time, they saved their credits.

But I will leave this discourse of a Penny's worth to their judgements and experience, who, having been troubled with overmuch money, afterward, in no long time, have been fain, after "a long dinner with Duke HUMPHREY," to take a nap on "penniless bench," only to verify the old proverb, "A fool and his money is soon parted."

How money may, many ways, be saved in diet, apparel, recreation, and the like.

AS THERE are infinite ways and occasions of spending and laying out money, which it were superfluous here to recount; whereof some may be well omitted; but others not, except we would want meat, drink, and our apparel, with other external necessaries, as horses, armour, books, and the like; in a word, whatsoever may conduce to our profit or honest pleasure. Yet in husbanding our money in all these, there is a great deal of caution and discretion to be used.

For most true it is, that of all nations in Europe, our English are the most profuse and careless in the way of expense. Go into other countries, especially Italy! the greatest *magnifico* in Venice will think it no disgrace to his *magnificenza* to go to market, to choose and buy his own meat, what him best liketh: but we in England scorn to do either; surfeiting indeed of our plenty, whereof other countries fall far short. Insomuch, as I am persuaded, that our City of London, of itself alone, eateth more good beef and mutton in one month, than all Spain, Italy, and a part of France, in a whole year. If we have a mind to dine at a tavern, we bespeak a dinner at all adventure! never demanding or knowing the price thereof till it be eaten. After dinner, there is a certain sauce brought up by the Drawer, called a Reckoning, in a bill as long as a broker's inventory.

I have known, by experience, in some taverns, sometimes of at least twice, and sometimes thrice, as much as the meat and dressing hath been worth [is charged]. No question but a fair and honest gain is to be allowed, in regard of house-rent, linen, attendance of servants, and the like. There are, without doubt, very many taverns very honest and reasonable. And the use of them is necessary. For if a man meets with his friend or acquaintance in the street, whither should they go, having no friend's house near to go into, especially in rainy or foul weather, but to a tavern? where, for the expense of a pint or quart of wine, they may have a dry house and room, to confer with, and to write to any friends about business.

[Many times more is drunk wastefully in wine, after a competent dinner, than would pay for two dinners with temperance; and the body surfeited. 1664.]

But to have in a bill, 8*s.* [= 30*s. now*], brought up for an ordinary capon, as my Lord of NORTHAMPTON's Gentleman had, at Greenwich, in King JAMES his time; 7*s.* or 9*s.* [= 25*s. or* 30*s. now*] for a pair of soles; 4*s.* [= 15*s. now*] for a dozen of larks; would make a Florentine run out of his wits! How excellently, in some houses, are their neats' tongues powdered, when the reckoning is brought you up!

Again, what can be more distasteful to an ingenious and free spirit, than to stand to the courtesy of a nimble-tongue Drawer, or his many-ringed Mistress, whether they or yourself shall have the disposing of your money! It is no small sum that our Gallants might save in a year, if they would be wise in this respect.

[*Men commonly are very cautious in purchasing bargains of great value, as buying of houses, horses, or rich apparel, or any other commodity of the like nature; but for small expenses, as a penny, or two pence at a time, that many daily lay out about trivial things, they are altogether regardless of: and, for the most part, those are most free in spending these small sums, who have nothing else to spend, when their wives and children are ready to starve.*

Now, a frequent custom of these small expenses, in a short time, arise to a considerable sum. As 1*s.* [= 3*s.* now] *a day spent, cometh to* £18 5*s.* 6*d. in the year; and* 1*d. a day to* £1 10*s.* 5*d. in the year. And a man of credit may take up, at interest,* £25, *for* 1*d. a day, being the full use* [interest] *of that sum after the rate of Six per Cent.* **1667.**]

[*Moderation far more cheap, and more healthful, than Abundance.* 1664.]

Besides, in your own private house or chambers, a dish or two, and a good stomach for a sauce, shall give you more content, continue your health, and keep your body in better plight, than a variety of many dishes. This pleased ever the wisest and best men.

HORACE affirmeth him to live healthy and happy, *cui splendet in mensa tenue salinum*, meaning by the small and poor salt cellar, a slender and frugal diet.

CURIUS, that noble Roman, a man of marvellous honesty, temperance, and valour, who overcame the Samnites and PYRRHUS himself; when the ambassadors of the Samnites brought him a huge sum of gold, they found him sitting by the fire, and seething of turnips for his dinner, with an earthen dish in his lap. At which time, he gave them this answer, "I had rather eat in this dish, and command over them that have gold; than be rich myself." Awhile after, being accused for deceiving the State of money which he had gotten in his conquests and kept to himself; he took a solemn oath, that he saved no more of all he got, but that one treen or wooden barrel, which he had there by him.

Marvellous was the temperance of the Romans in their diet; as also of the Turks at this day, the Italians, and the Spaniards: but it is in them natural, not habitual; and by consequence, no virtue, as themselves would have it.

[*The great frugality of the Italians, Spaniards, and Turks.* 1664.]

For the inhabitants of hot countries have not their digestion so strong as those under cold climates; whose bodies, by an *antiperistasis* or surrounding of cold, have the natural heat repelled and kept within them: which is the reason that the Northern nations are, of all others, the greatest eaters and drinkers; and of those, the French say we of England have the best stomachs and are the greatest trenchermen of the world. *Les Anglais sont les plus gros mangeurs de tout le monde.* But they are deceived; those of Denmark and Norway exceed us, and the Russians, them.

[*MARIOT, of Gray's Inn, as great an eater as any of late days, would sometimes eat up* 3*s.* or 4*s.* (= 9*s.* or 12*s.* now) *in mutton at a meal; and other fine meat with it. Yet, upon his own purse, he often feeding on coarse meats, made* 6*d.* or 8*d.* (= 1*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* now) *serve him at a meal.* 1664.]

I confess we have had, and yet have, some remarkable eaters amongst us: who, for a wager, would have eaten with the best of them; as WOLMER of Windsor. And not long since, WOOD of Kent eat up, at one dinner, fourteen green geese, equal

to the old ones in bigness, with sauce of gooseberries: as I heard it affirmed to my Lord RICHARD, Earl of DORSET, at a dinner time, at his house at Knowle, in Kent, by one of his Gentlemen, who was an eye-witness of the same.

But the truth is, that those men live the longest, and are commonly in perfect health, who content themselves with the least and simplest meat; which not only saves the purse, but preserves the body: as we may see in Lancashire, Shropshire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and other counties which are remote from the City. And it is Master CAMDEN's observation in his *Britannia, Ut diutius vivant quæ vescuntur Lacticiniis*, "they commonly are long-lived, who live by white meats," as milk, butter, cheese, curds, and the like. [*Old PARR, living about 170 years, rarely eat any flesh.* 1664.]

For *Multa fercula multos morbos gignere** was truly said of St. JEROME, as being apt, by their sundry and opposite qualities to breed much corruption. How healthful are scholars in our Universities, whose commons are no more than needs must! * That many dishes breed many diseases.

Neither would I have any man starve himself to save his purse, as a usurer confessed upon his death-bed, how he was above £200 [=£600 *now*] indebted to his belly for breakfasts, dinners, and suppers; which he had defrauded it, in Term times at London, and in other places, employing his money to other miserable purposes.

[*Another rich usurer* (*who made it his custom, every Term to travel on foot, in ragged clothes, and who sometimes did beg of the thieves themselves*) *was so well known that, at last, they took notice of him: and, examining his pockets, they found little store of gold; but a great black pudding, in one end whereof his gold was. The usurer, pleading hunger, desired the thieves, for GOD's sake! to give him half of it back again: which granted, and the usurer finding it to be the wrong end; he desired them to give some of the fat in the other end, to his lean. "No, you rogue!" said the thieves, "you have had your cut already! you shall not have a crumb more!"* **1664.**]

Money may be well saved in travel, or in town, if three or four shall join their purses; and provide their diet at the best hand. It is no shame so to do.

I have known also some who have been very skilful in dressing their own diet. HOMER tells us, that ACHILLES

could play the cook excellently well. And I believe it were not amiss for our English travellers so to do, in foreign countries: for many reasons I have known.

And execrable is the miser-able and base humour of many, who, to save their money, will live upon vile and loathsome things, as mushrooms, snails, frogs, mice, young kitlings, and the like.

[*A miser-able usurer, many days together, at a Cook's in London, did agree to have a large mess of pottage, about noon, a draught of small beer, if required; and as many chippings of bread in his pottage as he would put in: paying One Penny* (= 3*d.* now) *a day; being all the feeding he had. If in the winter, the benefit of a fire; and in the summer, a further allowance for small beer.* 1664.]

In time of extreme dearth or famine, people, I confess, have been driven to look out for whatsoever could nourish, and, as we say, "keep life and soul together": yea, and of far worse things than these, as JOSEPHUS reporteth of the Jews, in that horrible and fearful famine in Jerusalem at the time of the siege by TITUS and VESPASIAN. Such we blame not!

Most blameworthy are they who, as it were surfeiting of, or loathing that abundant plenty of all good and wholesome meats GOD hath afforded us in this land, and which GOD, by name hath commended to His people, make this stuff their greatest dainties: as I have known Ladies who, when they have eaten till they could eat no more of all the daintiest dishes at the table: yet they must eat the legs of their larks roasted anew in a greasy tallow candle; and if they carved but a piece of a burnt claw to any Gentleman at the table, he must take it as an extraordinary favour from her Ladyship. It were much to be wished that they were bound to hold them to their diet, in a dear year, or a wet spring! when frogs and snails may be had in greatest abundance.

Of thrift and good husbandry in Apparel.

YOU must, if you would keep money in your purse to uphold your credit, at all times be frugal and thrifty also in your apparel: not dogging the Fashion, or setting your tailor a work at the sight of every Monsieur's new suit.

There is a middle, plain, and decent garb, which is best and most to be commended. This is commonly affected of the most staid and wisest.

[*I have observed that this year* 1667, *many that had lost thousands by the late dreadful Fire, both men and women that have worn the best of clothing, said that "they would wear over their old clothes again, by altering of them in a plain way." Thousands now have estates* [fortunes] *to repair, and therefore must not despise small things. It is good to abridge or take away petty charges; and to stoop to petty gettings. Also, a man ought to avoid all charge begun, that will continue.* **1667**.]

What money might be saved, if we were so wise as the Dutch or Spaniards, who, for these two or three hundred years, have kept themselves to one fashion: but we, the Apes of Europe, like PROTEUS, must change our shapes every year! nay quarter! month! and week! as well in our doublets, hose, cloaks, hats, bands, boots, and what not? [*The commendable custom of the Dutch and Spaniards in their apparel.* 1664.]

That emblem was not improper which I saw at Antwerp, where was a he-fool and a she-fool turning a double-rimmed wheel upon one axle tree, one on the one side, and the other on the other. Upon the he-fool's wheel were the several fashions of men's apparel; on the other wheel, of women's: which, with the revolution of time, went round, and came into the same place, use, and request again; as for the present aloft and followed of all, by and by, was cast down and despised.

I see no reason why a Frenchman should not imitate our English fashion, as we do his. What! have the French more wit than we in fitting clothes to the body, or a better invention or way in saving money, or making of apparel? Surely, I think not. It may be our English, when they had to do in France, got a humour of affecting their fashions, which they could not shake off since.

There is no man ever the warmer, or ever the wiser for a fashion, so far forth as it is a fashion: but rather the contrary, a fool! for needless expense, and suffering himself to quake for cold; when his clothes in the fashion must be cut to the skin, his hat hardly cover his crown, but stand upon his periwig like an extinguisher. And we know by ridiculous experience, every day in the street, that our ladies and waiting-women will starve and shiver in the hardest frost, rather than they will suffer their bare necks and breasts to pass your eyes unviewed.

But some will say, as I have heard many, there is no man nowadays esteemed, that follows not the fashion. Be it so. The fashion of these Times is very fit to be observed! which is, to be deeply indebted to mercers, haberdashers, sempsters, tailors, and other trades, for the fulfilling of a fashionable humour: which a thrifty and wise man avoideth, accommodating himself with apparel fair and seemly, for half or a third of others' charge.

What makes so many of our city tailors arise to so great estates, as some of them have; and to build so brave houses, but the fashion? silkmen and mercers to buy such goodly Lordships in the countries [*counties*], where (many times) they are chosen High Sheriffs, but the fashion?

And I would fain know of any of our prime fashion-mongers, what use there is of laced bands of £6, £7, and £8 [=£18, £21, £24 *now*] the band? nay, of £40 or £50 the band? such daubing of cloaks and doublets, with gold and silver points, of £5 and £8 [=£15 *and* £24 *now*] the dozen, to dangle uselessly at the knees?

In PHILOPŒMEN.

PHILOPŒMEN, a brave Commander among the Grecians, as PLUTARCH reporteth, commanded that all the gold and silver which he had taken away from his enemies, which was a very great quantity, should be employed in gilding and inlaying of swords, saddles, bridles, all warlike furniture both for his men and horses. "For gold and silver worn by martial men addeth," saith PLUTARCH, "courage and spirit unto them; but in others, effeminacy or a kind of womanish vanity."

Moderata durante [*Things that are moderate, endure.* **1664**]; *mediocra firma* [*Things of mediocrity are firm.* **1664**. (*Lord BACON*)], were the mottoes of two as grave and great Councillors as were, of their Times, in England.

A Gentleman in a plain cloth suit, well made, may appear in the presence of the greatest Prince. The Venetians, as wise a people and State as any other in Europe, are bound by the laws of their Common wealth, that their upper garment, worn within the city, should ever be of plain black.

Yea, the greatest Princes go, many times, the plainest in their apparel. CHARLES the Fifth, Emperor, the Bulwark and Moderator of Christendom, in his time, went very plain; seldom or never wearing any gold or silver, save his Order of the Golden Fleece about his neck.

HENRY IV., King of France, worthily styled the Ninth Worthy, many times, in the heat of summer, would only go in a suit of buckram cut upon white canvas, or the like: so little they, who had the Kernel of wisdom and magnanimity, cared for the Shell of gaudy apparel.

[*The greatest Scholars have been the greatest slovens, and they have taken it to be no discredit to them.* 1664.]

And it is worthy the observation how, for the most part, the rarest and most excellent men in inward knowledge and multiplicity of learning, have been most negligent and careless in their apparel; and, as we say, slovens. ERASMUS saith of Sir THOMAS MORE, *Quod à puero semper in vestitu fuit negligentissimus*, "that from a child, he was ever most careless and slovenly in his apparel." PARACELSUS we read to have been the like: and, to parallel him, our late Master BUTLER of Cambridge [*died* 1618], that learned and excellent Physician.

In *Frag. Epistolarum.*

[*Of Scholars and Wits, in all Ages, both poets and others, some there have been who, of force, and against their own will, have been forced to keep an old fashion.*

I remember that an old Poet, of excellent parts for learning and pleasant discourse, did, many years since, tell me. A Gentleman of great estate in Derbyshire, desiring his company into the country with him, it being in the Long Vacation in summer time, when great breeches had been [were] *much in fashion, with baggings out at the knees, taking up much cloth, and a great store of linings. This scholar being at present very low in his fortunes, had worn very long and threadbare, a suit of this fashion till his linings being so broken that he was fain, every night, when he put them off, to be a long time putting them in order, that he might find the way to put them on, in the morning.*

But in the morning, the Gentleman coming into the room, and taking up his breeches, threw them upon his bed, saying, "He was a slugger-bed!"

"O, Sir," said the scholar, "you have undone me! for I was a great while setting my breeches the last night; and now I shall not know how to get my legs into them!"

The Gentleman fell into a laughter, and sent for a tailor to make him a new suit.

This is as near the story as I can remember; according to the scholar's own relation, about 1625. **1669.**]

There is much money to be saved in apparel, in choice of

stuff for lasting and expense: and that you may not be deceived in the stuff or price, take the advice of some honest tailor, your friend; as, no question, but everywhere there are many.

I will instance one. In Cambridge, there dwelt, some twenty or thirty years ago [*about* 1620], one GODFREY COLTON; who was, by trade, a tailor: but a merry companion with his tabour and pipe, and for singing of all manner of *Northern Songs* before Nobles and Gentlemen, who much delighted in his company; besides, he was Lord of Stourbridge Fair and all the misorders there.

On a time, an old Doctor of the University brought unto him five yards of pure fine scarlet, to make him a Doctor of Divinity's gown: and withal, desired him to save him the least shred, to mend a hole if a moth should eat it.

GODFREY having measured it, and found there was enough, laid it by.

"Nay," quoth the Doctor, "let me see it cut ere I go! for though you can play the knave abroad, I think you are honest at home and at your work."

"GOD forbid else!" quoth GODFREY, "and that you shall find by me! For give me but 20*s.* from you, and I will save you 40*s.* in the making of your gown."

"That I will!" said the Doctor, who was miser-able enough, "with all mine heart!"

With that, he gave him two old Harry Angels out of his velvet pouch: which GODFREY having put into his pocket, the Doctor desired him to tell him how he should save him 40*s.*

"Marry! will I," quoth GODFREY, "in good faith, Sir. Let some other tailor, in any case, make it! For if I take it in hand, I shall utterly spoil it! for I never, in all my life, made any of this fashion!"

I report this, for the credit of honest tailors; who will ever tell their friends the truth.

Of Recreations.

OF RECREATIONS, some are more expensive than others, as requiring more address and charge [*outlay*]; as Fittings, Masques, Plays, and the like: which are proper to Princes' Courts.

But I speak of those which are proper [*appropriate*] to private

men. For such is our nature, that we cannot stand long bent; but we must have our relaxations as well of mind, as of body.

For of Recreations, some are proper to the mind and speculation, as reading of delightful and pleasant books, the knowledge of the mathematical and other contemplative sciences; which are the more pleasing and excellent, by how much the pleasure of the Mind excelleth that of the Body.

Others belong to the body, as walking, riding upon pleasure, shooting, hunting, hawking, bowling, ringing, *Paille Maille* [*Note the occurrence of this name* 18 *years before the Restoration, when* CHARLES *II. brought it into fashion*], and the like; which are recreations without doors: others are within doors, as chess, tables, cards, dice, billiards, *gioco d'oco*, and the like.

But the truth is, the most pleasing of all, is riding with a good horse and a good companion, in the spring or summer season, into the country, when the blossoms are on the trees and flowers in the fields; or when corn and fruit are ripe in autumn. What sweet and goodly prospects shall you have, on both sides of you, upon the way! delicate green fields! low meadows! diversity of crystal streams! woody hills! parks with deer! hedgerows! orchards! fruit trees! churches! villages! the houses of gentlemen and husbandmen! several habits [*different clothes*] and faces! variety of country labours and exercises! [*That recreation which is most pleasant.* 1664.]

And if you happen, as often it falleth out, to converse with countrymen of the place; you shall find them, for the most part, understanding enough to give you satisfaction: and sometimes country maids and market wenches will give as unhappy answers as they be asked knavish and uncivil questions.

Others there be, who, out of their rustical simplicity, will afford you matter of mirth, if you stay to talk with them. I remember, once, by Horncastle, near to Stikeswold, in Lincolnshire, in the heat of summer, I met with a swineherd keeping his hogs on a fallow field.

"My friend," quoth I, "you keep here a company of unruly cattle!"

"I [*Ay*], poor souls, they are indeed," quoth he.

"I believe," said I, "they have a language among themselves, and can understand one another."

"I, as well as you or I."

"Were they ever taught?"

"Alas, poor things, they know not one letter of the book! I teach them all they have."

"Why, what saith that great hog with red spots," quoth I, "that lies under another, in his grunting language?"

"Marry, he bids him that sleeps so heavy upon him, to lie farther off."

But to our purpose. The most ordinary recreations in the country are foot-ball, skales or nine-pins, shooting at butts; quoits, bowling, running at the base, stoolball, leaping, and the like: whereof some are too violent and dangerous.

The safest recreations are within doors, but not in regard of cost and expense; for thousands sometimes are lost at Ordinaries and Dicing-houses. Yea, I have known goodly Lordships to have been lost at a cast! and, for the sport of one night, some have made themselves beggars all their lives after.

Recreation is so called *à recreando*, that is, by a metaphor, from creating a Man anew, by putting life, spirit, and delight into him, after the powers of his mind and body have been decayed and weakened with over much contemplation, study, and labour: and therefore to be used only to that end.

Some go for recreations which trouble and amuse the mind as much or more than the hardest study; as chess, which King JAMES called therefore "over philosophical a folly."

In *Basilicon doron.*

And, indeed, such recreations should be so used that leave no sting of repentance for sin committed by them, or grief and sorrow, for loss of money and time, many days after.

I could instance many of that nature, but I will only give some excellent rules to be observed in some of them.

Excellent rules for recreation. 1664.]

If you have a mind to recreate yourself by Play, never adventure but a Third part of that money you have! Let those you play withal, be of your acquaintance, and not strangers; if you may avoid it.

Never miss Time yourself, by sitting long at Play, as some will do three or four nights together; and so make yourself unfit for any business in many days after.

Never play until you be constrained to borrow, or pawn anything of your own; which becometh a base groom better than a Gentleman.

Avoid quarrelling, blasphemous swearing; and, in a word, never play for more than you are willing to lose, that you may find yourself, after your pastime, not the worse, but the better: which is the end of all recreations.

There are some, I know, so base and penurious, who, for fear of losing a penny, will never play at anything: yet, rather than they should want their recreation, I would wish them to venture at Span-counter and Dust-point, with schoolboys, upon their ordinary play days, in a market-place or Church porch!

Of such honest ways that men in want may take to live and get money.

IF A man hath fallen into poverty or distress, either by death of friends, some accident or other by sea or land, sickness, or the like; let him not despair! for *paupertas non est vitium*.

[*A proper young man begging of a Gentleman in Oxfordshire, the Gentleman chid him, and told him that "a man of his youth and limbs might be ashamed to beg!" Whereupon the beggar said, "He was troubled with a bad disease, of which he was ashamed." The Gentleman giving him 2d. (=6d. now), and riding forward, sent his man back to know "What his disease was?" The beggar refused to tell him, but being threatened to be cudgelled, he told the Serving-man in plain English, that "his disease was Idleness, by some men called Sloth." 1664.*]

And since the Common wealth is like unto a human Body, consisting of many members so useful, each to either, as one cannot subsist without the other; as a Prince, his Council and Statesmen, are as the Head; the Arms, are men-at-arms; the Back the commonality; Hands and Feet are country and mechanic trades, &c.: so, GOD hath ordained that all men should have need one of another, that none might live idly or want employment. Wherefore Idleness as the bane of a Common wealth, hath a curse attending upon it; it should be clothed with rags! it should beg its bread! &c.

I remember I have read in an Italian history, of one so idle, that he was fain to have one to help him to stir his chops, when he should eat his meat.

Now, if you would ask me, What course he should take, or what he should do that wanteth money? let him first bethink himself to what profession or trade of life he hath been formerly brought up?

If of the inferior rank of people, as a tradesman [*mechanic*] or artificer; for those are the persons most concerned in this general complaint.

First, let them be diligent and industrious in their several trades and callings.

Secondly, let them avoid all such idle society that squandered away a great deal of *time* at a cheap rate.

[*I shall instance, in those sober and civil Conventions as at coffee-houses and clubs, where little Money is pretended to be spent, but a great deal of precious Time is lost: which the person never thinks of, but measures his expenses by what goes out of his pocket; nor considers what he might have put in by his labour, and what he might have saved, being employed in a shop for example.*

A mechanic tradesman, it may be, goes to the coffee-house or ale-house, in the morning, to drink his morning's draught; where he spends twopence, and in smoking and talking consumes at least an hour: in the evening, about six o'clock, he goes to his twopenny Club, and there stays for his twopence till nine or ten. Here are fourpence spent; and four hours at least lost, which in most mechanic trades, cannot be reckoned at less than a shilling: and, if he keep servants, they may lose him nearly as much by idling and spoiling his goods, which his presence might have prevented. So that, upon these considerations, for this, his supposed Groat a day's expenses, he cannot reckon less than seven groats: which comes to 14*s.* [=42*s.* now] *a week, Sundays excepted; this is* £36 10*s. a year* [=£109 10*s.* now], *a great deal of money in a poor tradesman's pocket.* **1676.**]

If brought up to no trade, to what his genius or natural disposition stands most affected unto.

If he hath a mind to travel, he shall find entertainment in the Netherlands; who are the best paymasters; except the Emperor of Russia, and the Venetians (I mean, for the most means) in Europe.

[*The times in no Age were so hard as to deny Industry and Ingenuity a livelihood. The soldier may live by the exercise of his Sword, as the Scholar by the exercise of his Pen; and not pretend unto that which he understandeth not.* 1684.]

If you list not to follow the wars, you may find entertainment among our new Plantations in America; as New England, Virginia, the Barbadoes, St. Christopher's, and the rest: where with a great deal of delight, you may have variety of honest employment, as fishing with the net or hook, planting, gardening, and the like; which, besides your maintenance, you shall find it

a great content to your conscience to be in action, which GOD commands us all to be!

If you have been ever in Grammar School, you may everywhere find children to teach; so many, no doubt, as will keep you from starving, and it may be in a Gentleman's house. Or if you get entertainment of any who followeth the Law or practiseth Physic; you may, with diligence and practice, prove a Clerk to himself or some Justice of the Peace. By the other, you may get the knowledge and nature of herbs and all foreign drugs from his apothecary; and perhaps many good receipts for agues, wounds, and the like. I have known many, this way, to have proved in a country town, tolerable physicians, and have grown rich.

[*There is no torment* [*like*] *to the Want of Money. It puts a man upon unlawful and forbidden actions; and, like the* Strapado, *it often stretcheth him an inch beyond his length.* 1664.]

If being born a Gentleman, you scorn, as our Gentlemen do, to do any of these; you may get to be a Gentleman Usher to some Lady or other. They are not few that have thrived passing well this way.

And, in a word, rather than be in miserable and pitiless want, let a man undertake any vocation and labour! always remembering that homely, but true, distich of old TUSSER's,

> Think no labour slavery,
> That brings in Penny saverly!

And as a necessary rule hereto coincident, let every man endeavour, by a dutiful diligence, to get a friend! and when he hath found him (neither are they so easily found in these days!) with an equal care to keep him! and to use him, as one would do a crystal or Venice glass, to take him up softly and use him tenderly; or as you would a sword of excellent temper and mettle, not to hack at every gate or cut every staple and post therewith, but to keep him to defend you in your extremest danger.

False and seeming friends are infinite. Such be our ordinary acquaintance, with the compliment, "Glad to see you well!" "How have you done, this long time?" &c.: and with these, we meet every day.

In a word, for a conclusion, let every one be careful to get

and keep money. Know the worth of a Penny! [*There is no companion like a Penny! Be a good husband! and thou wilt soon get a penny to spend, a penny to lend, and a penny for thy friend.* **1667.**]

And since we are born, we must live. *Vivons nous!* Let us live as well, as merrily, as we can, in these hardest Times! and say, every one of us, as Sir ROGER WILLIAMS, that brave soldier, said to Queen ELIZABETH, when he wanted pay for himself and his soldiers, "Madam,

I tell you true! we will be without money for
no man's pleasure!"

FINIS.

A NARRATIVE

OF ALL THE

Proceedings in the *Draining* of the

GREAT LEVEL of the

FENS,

Extending into the Counties of

Northampton, *Lincoln*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*,

Cambridge, and *Huntingdon;* and the

ISLE of ELY:

From the time of Queen ELIZABETH,

until this present *MAY*, 1661.

For the Information of all concerned.

BY *N. N.*

LONDON,

Printed by *A. W.* for the use of the Author, 1661.

A Narrative of all the proceedings in the Draining of the Great Level, &c.

IN the 43rd year of Queen ELIZABETH—an Act was made to encourage any that 43 *Eliz.* would undertake the draining of the said Great Level: which was attempted in several parts; by CARRIL for the draining of Thorney, by COCKING and others for Londoners' Fens—which were both gained, and lost again.

In the third year of King JAMES—the whole was attempted to be drained by Sir JOHN POPHAM Knight, Chief Justice; Sir THOMAS FLEMING, Chief Baron; 3 *Jac.* Sir WILLIAM RUMNEY, Knight and Alderman of London; and JOHN ELDRED citizen of London; who were to have had for their recompense 130,000 acres: who did proceed, but could not effect that work.

In the 16th year of King JAMES—Sir WILLIAM AYLOFFE Knight and ANTHONY THOMAS Esquire became 16 *Jac.* Undertakers to drain the said Level, and were to have had two thirds of some, and one half of other grounds for their recompense: but this draining was without success.

Afterwards—King JAMES himself, by a Law of Sewers was declared Undertaker for the draining the whole; and was to have had for his recompense 120,000 acres: but this attempt likewise failed. Cambridge Law. 20 Feb. 19 *Jac.*

In the 6th year of King CHARLES the FIRST (of blessed

memory)—the Commissioners of Sewers for the said Great Level and parts adjacent; did agree with Sir CORNELIUS VERMUYDEN to undertake the draining the said Level; who was to have had for his recompense 95,000 acres: but nothing was done; in respect of his being an alien.

Sept. 6. Car. 1.

After in the said 6th year of King CHARLES—the then Commissioners of Sewers for the said Great Level and parts adjacent; did make it their request to FRANCIS, then Earl of BEDFORD to undertake the said work: who was to have for his recompense 95,000 acres; whereof the said King was to have 12,000 acres for his Royal assent to that law, and concurrence to an Act of Parliament.

Jan. 6. Car. 1.

In pursuance whereof, the said Earl undertook this great and hazardous work: and for his assistance therein, and by an Indenture consisting of fourteen parts; Dated 27 February [1632] 7 *Car.* 1° he took in divers Adventurers and Participants with him; who adventured for these several shares following, viz.

The said FRANCIS, Earl of BEDFORD; for three whole shares or lots, of 4,000 acres to each lot.
OLIVER, Earl of BOLINGBROKE; for one lot, of 4,000 acres.
EDWARD, Lord GORGES; for one.
Sir ROBERT HEATH Knight, for one.
Sir MILES SANDYS Knight and Baronet, for two.
Sir WILLIAM RUSSELL Knight and Baronet, for two.
Sir ROBERT BEVILL Knight, for one.
Sir THOMAS TERRINGHAM Knight, for two.
Sir PHILIBERT PERNATT, for one.
WILLIAM SAMS, Doctor at Law, for one.
ANTHONY HAMOND Esq., for two.
SAMUEL SPALDING Gent., for one.
ANDREW BURWELL Gent., for one.
Sir ROBERT LOVET Knight, for one.

In all twenty lots, each of 4,000 acres, divided between the said fourteen parties.

In and by which said Indenture, amongst other things, it is agreed as followeth.

> *That if any one of the aforesaid parties or their assigns, after notice, should fail in the payment of such money as from time to time should be imposed on them in pursuance of the said Indenture for the carrying on the said work; that then it should be lawful to and for the rest of the said parties or their assigns to supply the same, or to admit some other person or persons to have the share of such defaulture, paying the sum [then] imposed on the said share: and that all such parties as aforesaid by himself or his assigns so failing; shall be wholly excluded and for ever debarred from demanding or receiving all or any such sum or sums of money, as any such person or persons had formerly disbursed for and towards the said work.*

After the executing of the said fourteen-part Indenture; divers of those Participants did assign and conveyed unto other persons several proportions of their Shares and Adventures, by them undertaken by the said Indenture.

By virtue of this Agreement, the said Adventurers and their assigns proceeded so far in this hazardous adventure; that after an expense of £100,000 therein, it was [in 1636] adjudged drained, at Peterborough. 12 *Car.*

And in October [1637], in the 13th year of the said King CHARLES—by a Law of Sewers made at Saint Ives, 13 *Car.* the said 95,000 acres were set out by description and boundaries therein mentioned: where and how this 95,000 acres should be taken out of each parish or landowner's land in the whole Level; according to which setting forth, the whole 95,000 was thus divided and allotted.

First, 12,000 acres thereof, for the said late King CHARLES.

And 80,000 acres thereof, were divided into twenty lots, each lot containing 4,000 acres; which were divided amongst the aforesaid parties to the fourteen-part Deed and their assigns, as aforesaid.

And 3,000 acres did remain to be disposed of at the pleasure of the Adventurers.

In pursuance of this Law, a great part of the 95,000 acres was divided from the country: and some of the said Adventurers had possession of some parts of their several proportions; but had no conveyances of the same and received but little rent.

For that by a Law of Sewers made at Huntingdon in [1638] 14 *Car.* the 14th year of the said King CHARLES; upon complaint that the said Level was not perfectly drained—The said King CHARLES (of happy memory) was declared Undertaker to drain the same, *inter alia*, and to have for his recompense, not only the 95,000 acres set out unto the said Earl, but also 57,000 acres more out of the same lands and parishes within the said Level: and the said Earl and his Participants were to have had 40,000 acres of the said 95,000 acres freed from taxes for their charges expended; which would have been of more advantage to them than the whole 95,000 acres on the terms they have it.

After which Law, the inhabitants of the country did re-enter upon the said 80,000 acres and 3,000 acres; part of the said 95,000 acres: and the said King continued in the possession of the said 12,000 acres.

But about the year 1641, his Majesty gave over his 1641. Undertaking: and soon after the whole Level became drowned: and then the country entered upon the said 12,000 acres also, and kept the whole in their own possession.

In this condition, the said Level returned to be as badly drowned as ever before: with the loss of £100,000 to the said Earl and his Participants.

Afterwards a Parliament having been called in the year 1640—the said Earl and his Participants or their Assigns did petition the said Parliament: that they would empower the said Earl to go on and perfect the aforesaid work; and in 1641, their case was committed [*referred to a Committee*]. But the said Earl dying about the said year, and the late unhappy wars being then begun; there was for some time a stop to the prosecution of the said Act, till about 1646. When WILLIAM, now Earl of BEDFORD, son and heir of the said FRANCIS; the Honourables JOHN and EDWARD RUSSELL, brothers to the said WILLIAM, Earl of BEDFORD; Sir MILES SANDYS, Sir JOHN MARSHAM; ANTHONY HAMOND; and

ROBERT HENLEY Esquires, and others, in numbers and interest the greatest part concerned in the said 83,000 acres; did address themselves to the Parliament then sitting, that they might be empowered by an Act to prosecute the said work of Draining, for the recovery of that vast and lost country: which Act—after several hearings of all parties before a Committee—was ready to be presented to the House of Lords; but the late unhappy differences prevented for that time its further progress.

Afterwards, about the year 1648—the said WILLIAM, Earl of BEDFORD, by the assistance of Sir MILES SANDYS, ROBERT HENLEY Esquire, and divers others his said Participants; did prosecute the obtaining of an Act of that pretended Parliament, in order to the draining of the aforesaid Level. And after several hearings of all parties both of the Country and Adventurers before the Committee; an Act passed in the said pretended Parliament in May 1649.

By colour of which pretended Act, the said Earl and his Participants did meet together in the prosecution of the aforesaid fourteen-part Indenture. Accordingly the Earl of ARUNDEL, under whom Sir WILLIAM PLAYTER claims; Colonel JOHN RUSSELL and EDWARD RUSSELL Esquires, brothers to the said Earl of BEDFORD; Sir MILES SANDYS, under whom Colonel SAMUEL SANDYS claims; Sir JOHN HEWETT; Sir WILLIAM TERRINGHAM; WILLIAM DODSON; Sir JOHN MARSHAM; ANTHONY HAMOND and ROBERT HENLEY Esquires, and divers others interested in the said work of Draining; who had seven parts out of eight in the said 83,000 acres: finding themselves out of possession, did in June following resolve to raise money for carrying on the said work in prosecuting of the aforesaid fourteen-part Indenture; being enabled thereto — as the times then were — by the said pretended Act.

But several persons failing in the due payment of their money, as aforesaid: the said Earl with the residue of his said Participants were necessitated about November [1649] following; either to admit some other persons in the room of those who failed to supply the payment of such money as was raised according to the said Agreement, or otherwise to lose the whole.

By which means, money being raised, the said work was

carried on till Lady Day 1653; and then the whole Level being adjudged drained, possession of the said 95,000 acres was given to them accordingly: and by virtue of an Act made in the Parliament begun the 25th of April 1660, it still continues.

There are several banks, which together are above two hundred miles in length: seventy miles whereof are generally nine feet high and sixty feet wide at the seat or bottom; the rest generally five feet high and twenty-four feet wide at the seat. Besides, they have cut one navigable river twenty one miles long and one hundred feet broad: besides divers sewers and drains, altogether above four hundred miles in length, some forty feet, some thirty, some twenty, and none under twelve feet wide. Besides, they have made divers great and navigable sasses and sluices, and bridges.

For the doing whereof, and in other expenses and buildings, and improving the said Level; the said Earl and his Participants have expended at least £500,000; and it will yearly cost great sums to maintain it.

This being the true state of the Case—as indifferent to all interests, and as an affectionate friend to the whole—I heartily wish and advise that all parties herein concerned, would so far recede from their own opinions and private interests, and—for the preservation of the whole—unanimously submit all differences to the determination of the Parliament, or to such persons as they, in their wisdom, shall think fit: whereby the whole may be preserved, and all particular interests may receive justice according to the equity of their cause.

FINIS.

EDWARD LEIGH, Esquire, M.A.

Hints for Travellers.

1571-1671.

Edward Leigh, Esquire, M.A.

Hints for Travellers.

1571–1671 A.D.

[*Three Diatribes &c.*]

N such a one going to travel; there is required—

First. A competent age. That he be above eighteen or twenty years old: although the years of fourteen or fifteen are more proper for learning the true accent of any language; and all exercises belonging to the body.

Secondly. That he hath the Latin tongue; and some skill in the liberal sciences.

Thirdly. That he be skilful in architecture: able so well to limn or paint, as to take in paper the situation of a castle or a city, or the platform [*plan*] of a fortification.

Fourthly. That he be well grounded in the true religion: lest he be seduced and perverted.

Fifthly. He should be first well acquainted with his own country, before he go abroad; as to the places and government. If any came heretofore to the Lords of the Council for a license to travel: the old Lord Treasurer Burleigh would examine him of England. If he found him ignorant; he would bid him stay at home, and know his own country first.

Sixthly. It were of use to inform himself, before he undertakes his voyage, by the best chorographical and geographical map of the situation of the country he goes to; both in itself, and relatively to the universe: to compare the *vetus et hodierna regio*; and to carry with him the republics [*government*] of the nations to which he goes; and a map of every country he intends to travel through.

Seventhly. Before his voyage, he should make his peace with GOD; receive the Lord's Supper; satisfy his creditors, if he be in debt; pray earnestly to GOD to prosper him in his voyage, and to keep him from danger: and—if he be *sui juris*—he should make his last will, and wisely order all his affairs; since many that go far abroad, return not home.

In the survey of a country, these things are observable.

First. The Name and its derivation; the Latitude and Longitude of the place. The temperature of the climate. The goodness or barrenness of the ground. The populousness or scarcity of the people. The limits of the country; how it is bounded by sea or land, or both. The commodities, natural and artificial. The discommodities; either imperfections or wants. The manners, shape, language, and attire of the people. Their building; their havens and harbours. The religion and government. The history of the country and families.

Secondly. The Courts of Princes are to be seen and observed; especially when they give audience to Ambassadors: the Courts of Justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of Consistories Ecclesiastical. The churches and the monuments therein. The walls and fortifications of cities and towns; Antiquities and Ruins; Libraries, Colleges; Disputations and Lectures, where they are. Shipping and Navies; Houses and Gardens of state and pleasure, near great cities; Armouries, Arsenals, Magazines, Exchanges, Bourses, Warehouses; Exercises of horsemanship; fencing; training of soldiers; and the like. Treasuries of jewels and robes; Cabinets; and rare Inventions.

AUBERTUS MIRÆUS, in the life of LIPSIUS, saith that when he came first to Rome, he spent all his time, when he was at leisure, in viewing the stones and ancient places, and other rarities there: and that he spent his time in the Pope's Vatican library, in comparing together the manuscripts of SENECA, TACITUS, PLAUTUS, PROPERTIUS, and other ancients. He viewed also other famous libraries, public and private.

Thirdly. The choice herbs and plants, beasts, birds, fishes and insects proper to that country; are to be taken notice of: together with minerals, metals, stones, and earths.

Their proverbs also should be observed; in which, much of the wisdom of a nation is found.

Fourthly. Learned men, and such as have abilities of any kind; are worthy to be known: and the best books there, are to be inquired after.

Men that travel must be very cautious both of speech and demeanour. The Italian proverb saith, "For a man to travel safely through the world; it behoveth him to have a falcon's eye, an ass's ears, a monkey's face, a merchant's words, a camel's back, a hog's mouth, and a deer's feet."

Sir HENRY WOTTON, in his *Letters*, mentions twice the answer that was given to him by ALBERTO SCIPIONI; when he begged his advice, how he might carry himself securely at Rome. *Signior Arrigomio*, says he, *pensieri stretti, e il viso sciolto*. "Your thoughts close and your countenance loose [*open*] will go safely over the world."

Fifthly. Make choice of the best places for attaining of the language. As, Valladolid for the Spanish; Orleans or Blois for the French; Florence or Sienna for the Italian; Leipsic or Heidelberg for the High-Dutch [*German*] tongues. In these places, the best language is spoken.

What profit travelling brings to an architect, VITRUVIUS shows. What, to a soldier, VEGETIUS. What, to a limner or statuary [*sculptor*], the horses of PHIDIAS and PRAXITELES made by art, witness: these, with other colossal statues and pictures are yet at Rome. Merchandise is almost maintained by travel. How much are cosmography, topography and astronomy improved and furthered by travel!

Change of air by travelling, after one is used to it, is good: and therefore great travellers have been long lived[!].

In the *Philosophical Conferences* of the Virtuosi of France, *Conference* 87, it is determined whether Travel be necessary to an ingenuous man. He saith there, if you except embassies—in which the good of the State drowns all other considerations — those that would travel must be young and strong, rich and well-born; to get any good by their travels.

The French say *Un honnête homme est un homme mêlé*, "An

honest man is a mixed man;" that is, one who has something in him, in point of knowledge, of all nations.

CHARLES V. made nine voyages into Germany; six into Spain; seven into Italy; four into France; ten into the Low Countries; two into England; as many into Africa. He also passed the Ocean and Mediterranean seas, eleven times.

The Emperor HADRIAN travelled over a great part of the world; and with his head bare, though it were cold and wet: and so fell into a deadly disease. Whence the verses of FLORUS the poet.

Ego nolo CÆSAR esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.

I will in no wise CÆSAR be,
To walk along in Britainie,
The Scythic frost to feel and see.

To which the Emperor answered in like strain.

Ego nolo FLORUS esse,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Latitare per popinas,
Culices pati rotundos.

And I will never FLORUS be,
To walk from shop to shop, as he,
To lurk in taverns secretly,
And there to feel the Rome wine fly.

Whoever, since the beginning of things and men, hath been so often, by royal employment, sent Ambassador; or to so many princes, so distant in place, so different in rites, as Sir ROBERT SHIRLEY? Two Emperors, RONDOLPH and FERDINAND; two Popes, CLEMENT VII. and PAUL; twice the King of Spain; twice the Polonian; the Muscovite also; have given him audience: and twice also—though not the

least, for a born subject to be Ambassador to his Sovereign—His Majesty hath heard his embassage from the remote Persian. PURCHAS, *Pilgrims*, ii. *lib.* 10. *c.* 10.

Doctor NICHOLAS WOTTON, uncle to Sir HENRY WOTTON, was Privy Councillor to four successive Sovereigns, viz.: King HENRY VIII, King EDWARD VI, Queen MARY, and Queen ELIZABETH. He was nine times Ambassador for the crown of England; to the Emperor, the Kings of France and Spain, and other Princes. CAMDEN, *History of Queen ELIZABETH*.

Sir THOMAS ROE, after many Embassies—to almost all the Princes and States in Christendom—all which were managed with admirable dexterity, success, and satisfaction; was last of all, Ambassador Extraordinary to FERDINAND III, Emperor of Germany: who gave him this character, "I have met with many gallant persons of many nations; but I scarce ever met with an Ambassador till now."

Paris, Rome and Constantinople are the Court of the world; Venice, Genoa and Lisbon the City; Provence, Andalusia and Italy, the Garden; Africa and America, the Desert and Wilderness. FLECKNOE's *Relation* [*of ten years' travels, &c.*] *Letter* xxii.

JOHNSON in his *Relation of the many famous Kingdoms*, lib. i. *Of Travel;* adviseth a traveller to take heed of the pride of Spain, the poison of Italy, the treason of France, and the drink of Flanders.

Sir BENJAMIN RUDYARD—whose discourse and speeches were full of apothegms—was wont to say, "France is a good country to ride through, Italy a good country to look upon, Spain a good country to understand, but England a good country to live in."

So wishing the traveller a prosperous voyage: I here cast anchor.

JAMES WRIGHT.

The Second Generation of English Professional Actors.

1625-1670.

[JAMES WRIGHT.]

The second generation of English professional Actors, 1625–1670 A.D.

[*Historia Histrionica.* 1699.]

Lovewit.

Truman.

Lovewit. HONEST old Cavalier! well met! 'faith I am glad to see thee!

Truman. Have a care, what you call me! Old is a word of disgrace among the ladies. To be honest is to be poor and foolish, as some think: and Cavalier is a word as much out of fashion as any of them.

Lovewit. The more's the pity. But what said the *Fortune Teller*, in BEN JOHNSON's *Masque of Gypsies*, to the then Lord Privy Seal,

Honest and old!
In those the good part of a fortune is told!

Truman. BEN JOHNSON! How dare you name BEN JOHNSON in these times? when we have such a crowd of poets in a quite different genius: the least of which thinks himself as well able to correct BEN JOHNSON as he could a country schoolmistress that taught to spell.

Lovewit. We have indeed poets of a different genius. So are the plays. But in my opinion there are all of them, some few excepted, as much inferior to those of former times; as the actors now in being, generally speaking, are, compared to HART, MOHUN, BURT, LACY, CLUN, and SHATTEREL; for I can reach no further backward.

Truman. I can. And I dare assure you—if my fancy and memory are not partial, for men of my age are apt to be over indulgent to the thoughts of their youthful days—I say, the actors that I have seen, before the [Civil] Wars, LOWIN, TAYLOR, POLLARD, and some others, were almost as far beyond HART and his company; as those were, beyond these now in being.

Lovewit. I am willing to believe it, but cannot readily; because I have been told that those whom I mentioned, were bred up under the others [*i.e.*, *actors*] of your acquaintance; and followed their manner of action: which is now lost. So far, that when the question has been asked, "Why these players do not receive the *Silent Woman* and some other of JOHNSON's plays, once of highest esteem?" They have answered truly, "Because there are none now living, who can rightly humour those parts: for all who [were] related to the 'Blackfriars' (where they were acted in perfection) are now dead, and almost forgotten."

Truman. 'Tis very true! HART and CLUN were bred up boys at the "Blackfriars," and acted women's parts. HART was ROBINSON's boy or apprentice. He acted the *Duchess* in the tragedy of the *Cardinal*; which was the first part that gave him reputation. CARTWRIGHT and WINTERSHAL belonged to the "Private House" in Salisbury Court. BURT was a boy, first under SHANK at the "Blackfriars," then under BEESTON at the "Cockpit": and MOHUN and SHATTEREL were in the same condition with him, at the last place. There BURT used to play the principal women's parts, in particular *CLARIANA* in *Love's cruelty*: and, at the same time, MOHUN acted *BELLAMENTE*, which part he retained after the Restoration.

Lovewit. That I have seen, and can well remember. I wish they had printed in the last Age (for so I call the times before the Rebellion) the actors' names over against the parts they acted; as they have done since the Restoration: and thus one might have guessed at the Action of the men, by the parts which we now read in the old plays.

Truman. It was not the custom and usage of those days, as it hath been since. Yet some few old plays there are, that have the names set against the parts: as *The Duchess of MALFY; the Picture; the Roman Actor; the Deserving*

Favourite; the Wild Goose Chase, at the "Blackfriars"; *the Wedding; the Renegado; the Fair Maid of the West; HANNIBAL and SCIPIO; King JOHN and MATILDA*, at the "Cockpit"; and *Holland's leaguer*, at "Salisbury Court."

Lovewit. These are but few indeed: but, pray, Sir, what master-parts can you remember the old "Blackfriars" men to act, in JOHNSON'S, SHAKESPEARE'S, and FLETCHER'S plays?

Truman. What I can at present recollect I'll tell you. SHAKESPEARE (who, as I have heard, was a much better Poet than Player), BURBAGE, HEMMINGS, and others of the older sort, were dead before I knew the Town. But, in my time, before the Wars; LOWIN used to act, with mighty applause, *FALSTAFF*; *MOROSE*; *VULPONE*; and *MAMMON* in the *Alchemist*; *MELANCIUS* in the *Maid's tragedy*. And at the same time, *AMYNTOR* was played by STEPHEN HAMMERTON: who was, at first, a most noted and beautiful Woman-Actor; but afterwards he acted, with equal grace and applause, a young lover's part.

TAYLOR acted *HAMLET* incomparably well; *JAGO* [*i.e.*, *IAGO* in *OTHELLO*]; *TRUEWIT*, in the *Silent Woman*; and *FACE*, in the *Alchemist*.

SWANSTON used to play *OTHELLO*.

POLLARD and ROBINSON were Comedians. So was SHANK; who used to act *Sir ROGER* in the *Scornful Lady*. These were of the "Blackfriars."

Those of principal note at the "Cockpit" were PERKINS, MICHAEL BOWYER, SUMNER, WILLIAM ALLEN, and BIRD, eminent Actors: and ROBINS a Comedian.

Of the other Companies, I took little notice.

Lovewit. Were there so many companies?

Truman. Before the Wars, there were in being, all these Play Houses at the same time.

The "Blackfriars," and "Globe" on the Bankside. A winter, and [a] summer house belonging to the same Company; called "The King's Servants."

The "Cockpit" or "Phœnix" in Drury Lane; called "The Queen's Servants."

The Private House in Salisbury Court; called "The Prince's Servants."

The "Fortune," near White Cross Street: and the "Red Bull" at the upper end of St. John's Street. The two last were mostly frequented by citizens, and the meaner sort of people.

All these Companies got money, and lived in reputation: especially those of the "Blackfriars," who were men of grave and sober behaviour.

Lovewit. Which I much admire [*wonder*] at. That the Town, [being] much less than at present, could then maintain Five Companies; and yet now Two can hardly subsist.

Truman. Do not wonder, but consider! That though the Town was then, perhaps, not much more than half so populous as now; yet then the prices [of admission] were small (there being no scenes), and better order kept among the company that came: which made very good people think a play an innocent diversion for an idle hour or two; the plays being then, for the most part, more instructive and moral. Whereas of late, the Playhouses are so extremely with vizard-masks [*spectators wearing masks*] and their trade, occasioning continual quarrels and abuses; that many of the more civilized [*refined*] part of the Town are uneasy in the company, and shun the theatre as they would a house of scandal.

It is an argument of the worth of the Plays and Actors of the last Age, and easily inferred that they were much beyond ours in this, to consider that they could support themselves merely from their own merit, the weight of the matter, and goodness of the action; without scenes and machines. Whereas the present plays, with all their show, can hardly draw an audience, unless there be the additional invitation of a Signior FIDELI, a Monsieur L'ABBE, or some such foreign regale expressed in the bottom of the *Bill*.

Lovewit. To waive this digression, I have read of one EDWARD ALLEYN, a man so famed for excellent action that among BEN JOHNSON's *Epigrams*, I find one directed to him, full of encomium, and concluding thus—

Wear this renown! 'Tis just, that who did give
So many poets life, by one should live.

Was he one of the "Blackfriars"?

Truman. Never, as I have heard; for he was dead before

my time. He was Master of a Company of his own; for whom he built the "Fortune" playhouse from the ground: a large round brick building. This is he that grew so rich, that he purchased a great estate in Surrey, and elsewhere; and, having no issue, he built and largely endowed Dulwich College in the year 1619, for a Master, a Warden, four Fellows, twelve aged poor people, and twelve poor boys, &c. A noble charity!

Lovewit. What kind of Playhouses had they before the Wars?

Truman. The "Blackfriars," "Cockpit," and "Salisbury Court" were called Private Houses; and were very small to what we see now. The "Cockpit" was standing since the Restoration; and RHODES's Company acted there for some time.

Lovewit. I have seen that.

Truman. Then you have seen the other two, in effect; for they were all three built almost exactly alike, for form and bigness. Here they had "Pits" for the gentry, and acted by candlelight.

The "Globe," "Fortune," and "Bull" were large houses, and lay partly open to the weather: and there they always acted by daylight.

Lovewit. But prithee, TRUMAN; what became of these players when the Stage was put down, and the Rebellion raised [*i.e., in the time of the Commonwealth*].

Truman. Most of them (except LOWIN, TAYLOR, and POLLARD, who were superannuated) went into the King's army; and like good men and true, served their old master, though in a different, yet more honourable capacity.

ROBINSON was killed at the taking of a place (I think Basing House) by HARRISON, he that was after hanged at Charing Cross: who refused him quarter, and shot him in the head when he had laid down his arms; abusing Scripture at the same time, in saying "Cursed is he that doeth the work of the LORD negligently!"

MOHUN was a Captain; and, after the Wars were ended here, served in Flanders, where he received pay as a Major.

HART was a Lieutenant of horse under Sir THOMAS DALLISON, in Prince RUPERT's Regiment. BURT was Cornet in the same troop; and SHATTEREL, Quarter Master.

ALLEN of the "Cockpit" was a Major, and Quarter Master General at Oxford.

I have not heard of one of these players of any note that sided with the other party, but only SWANSTON; and he professed himself a Presbyterian, took up the trade of a jeweller, and lived in Aldermanbury, within the territory of Father CALAMY. The rest either lost, or exposed their lives for their King.

When the Wars were over, and the Royalists totally subdued: most of them who were left alive gathered to London; and for a subsistence, endeavoured to revive their old trade privately. They made up one Company out of all the scattered members of several; and in the winter before the King's murder, [*i.e.*] 1648, they ventured to act some plays, with as much caution and privacy as could be, at the "Cockpit." They continued undisturbed for three or four days: but at last, as they were presenting the tragedy of the *Bloody Brother*—in which LOWIN acted *AUBREY*; TAYLOR, *ROLLO*; POLLARD, the *Cook*; BURT, *LA TORCHE*; and, I think, HART, *OTTO*—a party of foot-soldiers beset the house, surprised them about the middle of the play, and carried them away, in their habits [*dresses*] not admitting them to shift [*themselves*], to Hatton House, then a prison: where having detained them some time, they plundered them of their clothes, and let them loose again.

Afterwards, in OLIVER's time, they used to act privately three or four miles or more out of town, now here, now there; sometimes in noblemen's houses, in particular Holland House at Kensington: where the nobility and gentry who met, but in no great numbers, used to make a sum for them; each giving a broad piece or the like. And ALEXANDER GOFFE, the Woman Actor at "Blackfriars," who had made himself known to persons of Quality, used to be the jackal, and give notice of time and place.

At Christmas and Bartholomew Fair, they used to bribe the Officer who commanded the guard at White Hall; and were thereupon connived at to act for a few days, at the "Red Bull": but were sometimes, notwithstanding, disturbed by soldiers.

Some picked up a little money by publishing copies of plays never before printed, but kept in manuscript. For

instance, in the year 1652, BEAUMONT and FLETCHER's *Wild Goose Chase* was printed in folio, *for the public use of all the ingenious*, as the title page says: *and private benefit of JOHN LOWIN and JOSEPH TAYLOR, Servants to his late Majesty:* and by them dedicated *To the honoured Few Lovers of Dramatic Poesy*[b]; wherein they modestly intimate their wants. And that with sufficient cause: for whatever they were before the Wars; they were after reduced to a necessitous condition.

LOWIN, in his latter days, kept an inn, *The Three Pigeons* at Brentford, where he died very old: for he was an Actor of eminent note in the reign of King JAMES I., and his poverty was as great as his age. TAYLOR died at Richmond, and was there buried. POLLARD, who lived single, and had a competent estate, retired to some relations he had in the country; and there ended his life. PERKINS and SUMNER of the "Cockpit," kept house together at Clerkenwell, and were there buried.

These all died some years before the Restoration. What followed after, I need not tell you! You can easily remember!

Lovewit. Yes. Presently after the Restoration, the "King's Players" acted publicly at the "Red Bull" for some time; and then removed to a new built Playhouse in Vere Street, by Clare Market. There they continued for a year or two; and then removed to the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, where they first made use of scenes [*scenery*]: which had been a little before introduced upon the public stage by Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT at the Duke's old Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields; but afterwards very much improved, with the addition of curious machines, by Mr. BETTERTON at the

[a] *The Wild Goose Chase.* A Comedy, as it hath been acted with singular applause at the "Blackfriars"; being the noble, last, and only remains of those incomparable Dramatists, FRANCIS BEAUMONT and JOHN FLETCHER, gentlemen. Retrieved for the public delight of all the Ingenious; and private benefit of JOHN LOWIN and JOSEPH TAYLOR Servants to his late Majesty; by a Person of Honour.

[b] *In this Dedication is mentioned the following singular fact respecting FLETCHER.* The Play was of so general a received acceptance, that, he himself a spectator, we have known him unconcerned, and to have wished it to be none of his: he, as well as the thronged theatre (in despite of his innate modesty), applauding this rare issue of his brain.

new Theatre in Dorset Garden—to the great expense, and continual charge of the players. This much impaired their profit over what it was before. For I have been informed by one of them, that for several years after the Restoration, every whole Sharer in Mr. HART's Company, got £1,000 *per annum*.

About the same time, that Scenes first entered upon the Stage at London, women were taught to act their own parts. Since when, we have seen, at both houses, several excellent actresses, justly famed as well for beauty as perfect good action. And some plays, in particular *The Parson's Wedding*, have been presented all by women; as formerly all by men.

Thus it continued for about twenty years, when Mr. HART and some of the old men began to grow weary; and were minded to leave off. Then the two Companies thought fit to unite: but of late, you see, they have thought it not less fit to divide again; though both Companies keep the same name of "His Majesty's Servants."

All this while, the Playhouse music improved yearly, and is now arrived to greater perfection than ever I knew it.

Yet for these advantages, the reputation of the Stage and people's affection to it are much decayed.

Truman. SINCE the Reformation, in QUEEN ELIZABETH's time, plays were frequently acted by Choristers and Singing Boys; and several of our old Comedies have printed in the title-page, *Acted by the Children of Paul's* (not the School, but the Church); others, *By the Children of Her Majesty's Chapel*. In particular, *CYNTHIA's Revels*, and the *Poetaster* were played by them; who were, at that time, famous for good action.

Among BEN JOHNSON's *Epigrams*, you may find *An epitaph on S[AL] P[AVY], one of the Children of Queen ELIZABETH's Chapel*; part of which runs thus:

Years he counted scarce Thirteen
When Fates turned cruel,
Yet three filled zodiacs he had been
The Stage's jewel,

And did act (what now we moan)
Old Man so duly,
As, sooth, the PARCÆ thought him one,
He played so truly!

Some of the Chapel Boys, when they grew men, became Actors at the "Blackfriars." Such were NATHANIEL FIELD and JOHN UNDERWOOD.

Lovewit. BUT CAN you inform me, TRUMAN! when public theatres were first erected for this purpose in London.

Truman. Not certainly: but I presume about the beginning of Queen ELIZABETH's reign. For STOW, in his *Survey of London*, which book was first printed in the year 1598, says:

Of late years in place of these stage-plays (i.e., those of religious matters) *have been used Comedies, Tragedies, Interludes, and Histories, both true and feigned: for the acting whereof, certain public places as the "Theatre," the "Curtain," &c., have been erected.*

And [J. HOWES] the Continuator of STOW's *Annals, p.* 1004, says:

That in sixty years before the publication of that book (which was *Anno Domini* 1629) *no less than seventeen public Stages or common Playhouses had been built in and about London.* In which number he reckons five Inns or common Holsteries to have been, in his time, turned into Playhouses; one Cockpit; St. Paul's Singing School; one in the Blackfriars; one in the Whitefriars; and one, in former time, at Newington Butts; and adds, *before the space of sixty years past*, I never knew, heard or read of any such Theatres, set Stages, or Playhouses, as have been purposely built within man's memory.

Lovewit. After all, I have been told that stage plays are inconsistent with the laws of this kingdom; and Players made Rogues by statute.

Truman. He that told you so, strained a point of truth. I never met with any law wholly to suppress them. Some-

times, indeed, they have been prohibited for a season: as in times of Lent, general mourning, or public calamities; or upon other occasions when the Government saw fit. Thus by *Proclamation*, 7th of April [1559], 1 *Eliz.*, plays and interludes were forbidden till Allhallowtide [1 November] next following. *HOLINSHED*, *p.* 1184.

Some statutes have been made for their regulation or reformation, not general suppression. By the statute 39 *Eliz. c.* 4, which was made *for the suppression of Rogues, Vagabonds, and sturdy Beggars*, it is enacted, *s.* 2:

That all persons that be, or utter themselves to be Proctors; Procurers; Patent gatherers or Collectors for Coals, Prisons, or Hospitals; or Fencers; Bearwards; common Players of Interludes, and Minstrels wandering abroad (other than Players of Interludes belonging to any Baron of this realm or any other honourable Personage of greater degree, to be authorised to play under the hand and seal of arms of such Baron or Personage); all Jugglers, Tinkers, Pedlers, and Petty Chapmen wandering abroad; &c., able in body, using loitering, and refusing to work for such reasonable wages as is commonly given, &c. These shall be adjudged and deemed Rogues, Vagabonds, and sturdy Beggars; and punished as such.

Lovewit. But this privilege of authorising or licensing is taken away by the statute 1 *Jac. I. c.* 7 *s.* 1; and therefore all of them (as Mr. [JEREMY] COLLIER says, *p.* 242) are expressly brought under the foresaid penalty, without distinction.

Truman. If he means all Players without distinction, it is a great mistake. For the force of the Queen's statute extends only to "*wandering* Players," and not to such as are the "King's" or "Queen's Servants," established in settled Houses by Royal Authority.

On such, the ill character of vagrant players or (as they are now called) Strollers, can cast no more aspersion than the "wandering Proctors," in the same statute mentioned, on those of Doctor's Commons.

By a statute made 3 *Jac. I. c.* 21, it was enacted *That if any person shall in any Stage play, Interlude, Show, Maygame, or Pageantry jestingly or profanely speak or use the holy name of GOD, JESUS CHRIST, the HOLY GHOST, or of the TRINITY, he shall forfeit for every such offence* £10.

The statute of 1 *Car. I. c.* 1 enacts *That no meetings, assemblies, or concourse of people shall be out of their own parishes on the Lord's Day, for any sports or pastimes whatsoever; nor any bearbaiting, bullbaiting, interludes, common plays, or other unlawful exercises and pastimes used by any person or persons within their own parishes.*

These are all the statutes that I can think of relating to the Stage and Players. But nothing to suppress them totally, till the two *Ordinances* of the Long Parliament; one of the 22nd of October 1647, the other of the 11th of February 1647[-8]. By which all Stage Plays and Interludes are absolutely forbidden; the stages, seats, galleries, &c., to be pulled down. All players, though calling themselves the "King's" or "Queen's Servants," if convicted of acting within two months before such conviction, to be punished as Rogues, according to law. The money received by them, to go to the poor of the parish; and every spectator to pay five shillings to the use of the poor.

Also Cockfighting was prohibited by one of OLIVER's *Acts*, of 31st March 1654: but I suppose nobody pretends these things to be laws [!].

I could say more on this subject, but I must break off here, and leave you, LOVEWIT. My occasions require it.

Lovewit. Farewell, old Cavalier!

Truman. 'Tis properly said! We are almost all of us now, gone and forgotten.

FINIS.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

TORMENTS,

THE

French Protestants

endure aboard the

GALLEYS.

By JOHN BION, heretofore Priest and Curate of the parish of Ursy, in the Province of Burgundy; and Chaplain to the *Superbe* Galley, in the French Service.

LONDON,

Printed for JOHN MORPHEW, near Stationers' Hall. 1708

To the Queen.

MADAM,

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY!

IN GRATITUDE to those wretches, whose heroic constancy raised in me that admiration which was the first cause of my happy conversion; I humbly lay at your Majesty's feet, an Account of their Sufferings.

Their only hopes, under GOD, are in your Majesty! the glorious defender and ornament of their faith. The charity by which you support such numbers of their brethren in your dominions, the concern you have expressed for the pressures the French churches labour under, and the zeal for their restoration to their ancient splendour, leave no room to doubt of your Majesty's generous intentions. And that Providence, which watches over your sacred person, and distinguishes your reign by so many exploits, both at home and abroad, from those of your most glorious ancestors, will, no doubt, reward your piety, and enable your

Majesty to ease them of their chains, after having broken those of Europe.

They would not thus presume to make their way through the crowd of your admirers, and disturb the acclamation that surrounds your august Person, with the doleful rehearsal of their misery, did not your Majesty's known goodness facilitate their access, and your love of justice, and proneness to redress grievances encourage their presumption.

I am, in particular, happy in being so far instrumental in their future deliverance, as to make their Case known to the best and greatest of Queens; and I am proud that it furnishes me with an opportunity of letting the World know, that I am,

May it please your Majesty!

Your Majesty's most faithful subject,

and obedient humble servant,

JOHN BION,

heretofore Chaplain to the *Superbe* Galley, in the French King's service.

The Preface.

S I PURPOSED in this Work, only to make the sufferings of the Protestants condemned to the galleys for the sake of Religion, known to the World; people will be apt to think that when I speak in general of the different sorts of forçats *or* slaves *which are on them, I go beside the rules I prescribed to myself. But if it be considered that it is no little torment to the Protestants to be amongst malefactors and lewd and profligate villains, whose continual blasphemies and cursings have no parallel but among the damned in hell; it will not be thought beside my purpose, to have given to the World, a particular account of the various sorts of those men who live in the galleys.*

There is, besides, a block, those who never saw the galleys but in the port at Marseilles, will infallibly stumble at; if not removed. Which is, that whereas the galley slaves are not, during that time, in that wretched condition they are in whilst at sea, and tugging at the oar. Being allowed to keep shop about the Port, and there to work and sell all manner of commodities. And sometimes having leave to walk in the town: giving only one penny to the Algousin, *as much to the Turk with whom each of them must then be coupled, and five pence to the* Pertuisenier *or Partizan Bearer who guards them. There being some besides, that even have their wives at Marseilles. And all being permitted to hear from their friends, and receive money from their relations.* All such comforts and favours, as well as all manner of correspondence with friends, are utterly denied the Protestants!

I have not descended to particulars, in what relateth to the usefulness of galleys in sea fights, for the keeping of the coasts or convoying of merchant sloops when there is [any] *danger of their being taken or set upon by the brigantines the Duke of* Savoy *keeps commonly for that purpose, during the war, in Villa Franca, St. Hospitio, and Oneglia.*

Nor did I take notice in this Work, how the galleys, in an engagement wherein there are Men-of-war, serve to keep off, and sink with their cannon shot out of the Coursier, *a gun so called, the fire-ships the enemy sendeth to set the ship on fire; and to tow away such as are disabled in the fight.*

I might also have observed how in every galley, there are five guns upon the foredeck, viz., four six or eight pounders, and a fifth called the Coursier, *which carrieth a* 36*lb. ball.*

And herewith, when an enemy's ship is becalmed, a galley, which with her oars can do what she pleaseth, may attack that ship fore and aft, to avoid her broadsides; and ply her with the Coursier*: so that sometimes, if she happeneth to let* [give] *her a shot, which cometh between wind and water, she forceth her to surrender. Which however happeneth seldom enough: for a ship needs but a little wind to make nothing of overthrowing five or six galleys.*

I did not think fit either to give here, an account of the number of galleys in France; which are twenty-four at Marseilles, and six upon the ocean. Not to speak of the six small rooms in every galley, under the deck, wherein ammunition and provisions are kept; and which they call the Gavon, *the* Scandclat, *the* Campaign, *the* Paillot, *the* Tavern, *and the* Fore-room.

All these particulars would have carried me too far out of my way, and beside my purpose: which is only to give a plain and faithful Account, without amplifying, of the Sufferings of the Protestant galley slaves.

If there be anything omitted in this Relation, it will not be found as to any material point. And as my sole aim in it, hath been to work a fellowing feeling in other men's hearts, I shall not find myself at all disappointed, although their curiosity should not be fully satisfied.

The LORD, in his mercy, pour out his blessings upon this Work! and favourably hear our prayers and supplications, which we shall never cease to make unto his Divine Majesty, for the deliverance of our poor distressed brethren.

THE
SUFFERINGS OF THE PROTESTANTS
IN THE
FRENCH GALLEYS.

THE dismal accounts handed down to us by historians, of the torments afflicted on Christians by the heathen Emperors, in the first Ages of the Church, might justly be suspected, if the woful experience of our own, did not put the truth of them out of dispute. For though it be not easy to conceive how men can put off all that is tender and generous in their natures, and degenerate into the ferity [*ferocity*] of brutes; yet it is but looking on the World around us, and being convinced that they can even outdo their fellow animals in cruelty to one another. Nay, we may see many professing Christianity, under the specious pretence of zeal for its Interest, commit such barbarities as exceed, [or] at least equal, the rage of the persecutors of the primitive Christians. History abounds in instances that shew the nature of a spirit of persecution, and how boundless its rage and fury! but the sad effects it hath, of late years, produced in France, as they are still fresh and but too obvious, are scarcely to be parallel in any Age or nation.

All the World knows the Protestants there, lived under the protection of the *Edict of Nantes*; a treaty as full and solemn as any ever was! It was at first religiously observed: but in time, several breaches were made in it. Many of its

branches were by degrees lopt off, till at last, under the present King [*LOUIS XIV.*], at the continual teasing and solicitation of the Jesuits, those restless and busy insects! it was perfidiously broken, or, as they please to term it, *repealed*.

But Religion and its propagation must be the cloak under which those crafty silversmiths intend to play their game. And therefore having first confidently taught that the King hath a Despotic Power over the Consciences as well as Estates; and consequently his Will to be the Rule of their Religion: they, by several arts and methods, but chiefly by dreadful punishments, force weak people to play the hypocrites, and embrace a Religion which in their hearts they detest. Such as were too good Christians to prostitute their consciences to vile worldly interests, are denied the benefit of retiring into foreign countries; and punished, if discovered, often with death: or reserved for more cruel usage, and condemned to spin out their wretched lives in the galleys.

Of these last, I design to give the public an Account, as being of all men the most miserable: the barbarities committed in those horrid machines exceeding all that can possibly be imagined. The ingenuity of the famous Sicilian Tyrants in inventing torments deserves no longer to be proverbial: being far excelled in this pernicious art, by the modern enemies of Religion and Liberty.

I shall endeavour to satisfy the curiosity of those who desire to be informed of the treatment, the slaves, and particularly the Protestants, in the galleys meet with; and to convince such, as are loth to harbour any hard thoughts of the French Court; that justifies its proceedings, by pretending that what they suffer, is not on the account of Religion, but a just and lawful punishment for Rebellion and Disobedience.

My being several campaigns [*cruizes*], Chaplain aboard one of the galleys, called *La Superbe*, gave me a sufficient opportunity of informing myself of the truth of the following Relation. And I hope my integrity will not be called in question by anybody that hears, that during my stay in that Service, I never received the least disgust or met with any disobligation. The certificates I have from Monsieur DE

MONTOLIEU, Chief Flag Officer of the French galleys; and Monsieur D'AUTIGNY, Captain of the aforesaid galley, whose Chaplain I was; a reward for my services conferred on me by the French King in the year 1704, at the recommendation of Monsieur DE PORTCHARTRIN; several good offices done me by the General, and other officers who knew me: will I hope screen me from the suspicions or calumny of such, who, through malice, or perhaps Interest, might be inclined to misrepresent me.

Neither shall a blind zeal for the Protestant Religion, which I have lately embraced, hurry me beyond the strict bounds of truth, or make me represent things in any colours but their own. I should be an unworthy professor of that holy Religion, if, on any consideration, I should in the least deviate from the strictest truth; to which end, I shall relate nothing by hearsay, but, like the Apostle, confine myself to those things, my "eyes have seen."

But before I proceed to shew the sufferings and misery, the wretches in the galleys, labour under, I shall give a short description of that vessel.

A Galley is a long flat one-decked vessel, though it hath two masts. Yet they generally make use of oars, because they are built so as not to be able to endure a rough sea: and therefore their sails for the most part are useless, unless in cruising, when they are out of sight of land; for then, for fear of being surprised by ill weather, they make the best of their way.

There are five slaves to every oar; one of them, a Turk; who being generally stronger than Christians, is set at the upper end, to work it with more strength.

There are in all 300 slaves; and 150 men, either Officers, soldiers, seamen, or servants.

There is at the stern of the galley, a chamber, shaped on the outside like a cradle, belonging to the Captain: and solely his, at night or in foul weather; but in the daytime, common to the Officers and Chaplain. All the rest of the crew (the Under Officers excepted, who retire to other convenient places) are exposed above deck, to the scorching heat of the sun by day, and the damps and inclemencies of the

night. There is indeed a kind of a tent suspended by a cable from head to stern, that affords some little shelter: but the misfortune is, that this is only when they can best be without it, that is, in fair weather. For in the least wind or storm, it is taken down; the galley not being able to endure it for fear of oversetting.

The two winters (in *anno* 1703, and in 1704) we kept the coasts of Monaco, Nice, and Antibes; those poor creatures, after hard rowing, could not enjoy the usual benefit of the night, which puts an end to the fatigues and labours of the day: but were exposed to the winds, snow, hail, and all other inconveniences of that season. The only comfort they wished for, was the liberty of smoking: but that, on pain of the *bastinado*, the usual punishment of the place, is forbidden.

The vessel being but small for the number, the men consequently crowded, the continual sweat that streams down from their bodies whilst rowing, and the scanty allowance of linen; one may easily imagine, breed abundance of vermin. So that, in spite of all the care that can be taken, the galleys swarm with lice, &c.; which nestling in the plaits and laps of their clothes, relieve by night, the executioners who beat and torment them by day.

Their whole yearly allowance for clothes is two shirts made of the coarsest canvas; and a little jerkin of red serge, slit on each side, up to their arm holes; the sleeves are also open, and come not down so low as their elbows. And every three years, a kind of a coarse frock; and a little cap to cover their heads, which they are obliged to keep close shaved, as a mark of infamy.

Instead of a bed, they are allowed, sick or well, only a board a foot and a half broad. And those who have the unfortunate honour of lying near the Officers, dare not presume, though tormented with vermin, to stir so much as a hand for their ease: for fear their chains should rattle, and awake any of them; which would draw on them a punishment more severe than the biting of those insects.

It is hard to give an exact description of the pains and labours the slaves undergo at sea, especially during a long campaign [*cruize*]. The fatigue of tugging at the oar is extraordinary. They must rise to draw their stroke, and fall back again almost on their backs: insomuch that, in all

seasons, through the continual and violent motion of their bodies, the sweat trickles down their harassed limbs.

And for fear they should fail, as they often do through faintness, there is a gang board, which runs through the middle of the ship, on which are constantly posted three *Comites*, an Officer somewhat like a Boatswain in Her Majesty's ships, who whenever they find or think that an oar does not keep touch with the rest, without ever examining whether it proceeds from weakness or laziness, they unmercifully exercise a tough wand on the man they suspect: which being long is often felt by two or three of his innocent neighbours, who being naked when they row, each blow imprints evident marks of the inhumanity of the executioner.

And that which adds to their misery, is that they are not allowed the least sign of discontent or complaint, that small and last comfort of the miserable! but must, on the contrary, endeavour with all their might, to exert the little vigour that remains, and try by their submission, to pacify the rage of those relentless tigers; whose strokes are commonly ushered in, and followed by a volley of oaths and horrid imprecations.

No sooner are they arrived in any port, but their work, instead of being at an end, is increased; several laborious things previous to casting anchor, being expected from them; which in a galley is harder than a ship. And as the *Comite*'s chief skill is seen in dexterously casting anchor, and that they think Blows are the life and soul of Work; nothing is heard for some time, but cries and lamentation: and as the poor slaves' arms are busy in the execution of his commands, his are as briskly exercised in lashing them.

To support their strength under all these hardships; during the campaign, every morning, at eight of the clock, they give each man, his proportion of biscuit; of which indeed, they have enough, and pretty good. At ten, a porringer made of oil, with peas or beans often rotten, and commonly musty. I call it soup, according to their use; although it be nothing but a little hot water with about a dozen peas or beans floating on the top. And when on duty, a *Pichone* of wine, a measure containing about two-thirds of an English pint, morning and evening.

When at anchor in any port, all who have any money are

allowed to buy meat; and the Turk that commands the oar, and is not chained, is commonly the person employed for this purpose, as also to see it dressed in the Cook Room. But I have often seen the Captain's Cook, a brutal passionate man, take the poor men's pot, under pretence that it troubled him, and either break or throw it overboard: whilst the poor wretches were fainting for want of that little refreshment, without daring so much as to murmur or complain. This indeed is not usual, but where the Cook happens to be a villain: of which sort of men there are plenty in the galleys.

The Officer's table is well furnished both for plenty and delicacy: but this gives slaves only a more exquisite sense of their misery, and seems to brave their poverty and hunger.

We spent the Carnival of 1704, in the port of Monaco. Our Officers frequently treated the Prince of that place aboard the galley. Their entertainments were splendid. Music and all things that could promote Mirth were procured. But who can express the affliction of those poor creatures, who had only a prospect of pleasure, and whilst others revelled at their ease, were sinking under a load of chains, pinched with hunger in their stomachs, and nothing to support their dejected spirits.

Nay, and what is worse, they are forced to add to the pomp and honour done to Great Men, who visit their Officers: but in such a manner as moves the compassion of all who are not used to such dismal solemnities. When a Person of Quality comes on board, the *Comite* gives twice notice with his whistle. The first time they are all attentive; and the second, the slaves are obliged to *salute*, as they call it, three times: not with a cheerful Huzza as in an English Man-of-war; but by howling in a piteous tone, making a lamentable complaining outcry.

When the badness of the weather hinder the galleys from putting to sea; such as have trades work in the galley. Such as have none learn to knit coarse stockings; the *Comite*, for whose profit they work, gives them yarn, and pays them about half the usual price; and this not in money, but some little victuals, or wine which they are obliged to take out of the Ship's Cellar (of which the *Comite* is the keeper), though it be generally bad, and dashed with water. For though

they had as much gold as they could carry, they durst not, on pain of a *bastinado*, send for any wine from the shore.

The most moving spectacle of all, is to see the poor souls that have no trade. They clean their comrades' clothes, and destroy the vermin that torment their neighbours: who in return, give them some small share of that scanty pittance they purchase by working.

One may imagine that such ill treatment, diet, and infection must needs occasion frequent sickness. In that case, the usage is thus:

There is in the hold, a close dark room. The air is admitted only by the scuttle two feet square; which is the only passage into it. At each end of the said room, there is a sort of a scaffold called *Taular*; on which the sick are laid promiscuously, without beds or anything under them. When these are full, if there be any more, they are stretched all along the cables: as I saw in the year 1703, when being on the coast of Italy, in winter time, we had above threescore sick men.

In this horrid place, all kind of vermin rule with an arbitrary sway; gnawing the poor sick creatures without disturbance.

When the duties of my function called me in amongst them, to confess, advise, or administer some comfort; which was constantly twice a day: I was in an instant covered all over with them, it being impossible to preserve one's self from their swarms. The only way was to go down in a night gown, which I stript off when I came out, and by that means rid myself of them, by putting on my clothes.

But when I was in, methought I walked, in a literal sense, in the Shades of Death. I was obliged notwithstanding to make considerable stays in this gloomy mansion, to confess such who were ready to expire. And the whole space between the ceiling and the *Taular* being but three feet; I was obliged to lie down, and stretch myself along their sides, to hear their confessions: and often, while I was confessing one, another expired just by my side.

The stench is most intolerable, insomuch as that there is no slave, though ever so weak, but will rather choose to tug at his oar, and expire under his chain, than to retire to this loathsome hospital.

There is a chirurgeon to take care of the sick. At the first setting out of the galley, the King lays in drugs for the use of the crew; which are always very good: and therefore the chirurgeons make money of them, in the several places we arrive at; so that the persons they are intended for, have the least benefit of them.

During the sickness, the King orders each man in the room we have described, 1 lb. of fresh bread, and the same quantity of fresh meat, and 2 oz. of rice a day. This is the Steward's province: and he discharges his office in such a manner, that five or six campaigns make his fortune. We have frequently had in our galley, threescore and ten sick men; and the quantity of flesh allowed for that number, never exceeded 20 lbs. weight, and that bad meat too: though, as I have observed, the King's allowance is 1 lb. for every man; the rest going into his own pocket.

Once, out of curiosity, I tasted it; and found it little better than hot water. I complained to the Chirurgeon and Steward: but being great [*thick*] and *commensales*, they connived at one another.

I complained to the Officers also: but for what reason (I only guess!) they did not regard me. And I have too much respect for the Captain, to say that he had any reason or Interest to wink at so great a piece of injustice, though he could, by his own authority, do these wretches justice: who often refused that water, made only more loathsome by the little quantity of meat put into it, and the little care used about it.

I enquired of other Chaplains, whether the same was practised aboard their galleys? They frankly confessed it was; but durst own no more.

After the campaign of 1704, I, having occasion to go to Versailles, thought myself obliged, when there, to give an account to Monsieur DE PONTCHARTRIN, one of the King's Ministers, whose particular province, the Sea Affairs are.

I offered him a short Memorial, and some Advices which I thought most proper to prevent the like abuses for the future.

He was pleased to be so well satisfied, and found them so agreeable to some intimations given him before; that he regarded my advice, and offered me his Interest. The King

was pleased to order me a gratuity. I left the Warrant with Monsieur THOME, Treasurer General of the Galleys, living at the Marias du Temple; to serve as an acquittance for the several payments he has made me.

This is a brief account of the Galley; and the government thereof.

Now proceed to shew what sort of people are condemned there.

There are in a galley, five several sorts of people, under the notion of slaves; besides seamen and soldiers: viz., Turks, such as are called *Faussioners*, deserters, criminals, and Protestants.

The King buys the Turks to manage the stroke of the oar, as I have already shewn, and they are called *Vogueavants*; and they together with such as are on the seats called *banc du quartier, de la Conille*, and *les espalliers*, have the same allowance with the soldiers. They are generally lusty strong men, and the least unfortunate of the whole crew. They are not chained; but only wear a ring on their foot, as a badge of slavery.

When they arrive at any port, they have liberty to trade. Some of them are worth £300 or £400 [=£750 or £1,000 *now*]. They frequently send money to their wives and families: and, to the shame of Christians be it spoken! there is a great deal more charity amongst them, than is to be found amongst us.

I had taken one, called TRIPOLI, for my servant. He was a most religious observer of his law. During the *Ramadan*, a feast kept by them, the first Moon of the year; he never eat, nor drank, from sun rising to sun setting; in spite of all the toil and fatigue of the oar; he never seemed uneasy, though ready to faint through weakness.

I could never so much as persuade him, to take a little wine; though I have often urged him, merely out of compassion.

The Officers make use of no other servants; and they are so trusty, that they are never found out in any theft or roguery.

If any, by chance, commit a fault; all the Turks importune their respective masters, to intercede for him with the Captain. If any be sick; they are all busy about him, to do him all the kind offices in their power. They club to buy him meat, or to purchase anything that may refresh him, or do him good. In short, in the galleys, one would think that the Turks and the Christians had made an exchange of principles: and that the latter had abjured the Precepts of their Saviour, and that the others had taken them up. And accordingly, preach up CHRIST to a Turk, in a galley; and his answer presently is, that "he had rather be transformed to a dog, than be of a religion that countenances so much barbarity, and suffer so many crimes."

I cannot omit one remarkable instance of their constancy, and firm adherence to their religion. One of them who spoke French, fell sick. I found him stretched on the cable, in the place I have already described. I had done him some services: and seeing me do the duties of my function to some of his neighbours, he called me to him, and bade me farewell; telling me that he found he could not possibly live four hours longer.

I ventured to talk to him, of GOD, our Saviour CHRIST, and the principles of his religion; and told him that "through him alone, he was to expect salvation."

I found what I said made some impression.

Whereupon I embraced him, and told him "I would answer for his soul, if he would renounce MAHOMET, who was but an imposter; and believe in JESUS CHRIST, the only Redeemer and Saviour of Mankind, whose holy and excellent doctrine, he had heard me so often preach."

He told me, he would do what I thought fit.

I answered that all I desired was his consent to receive baptism: "without which," I told him, "he could expect no salvation." I explained in a few words, the nature and design of it: and having induced him to consent, I went for some water; and secretly told the Captain what had happened.

But unluckily, another Turk, a friend of his (who also understood French, and had heard all that had past), whilst I was away, said something to my proselyte in his own language: so that, by the time I came back, he had quite altered his resolution, in such wise that I could, by no means, persuade him to perform the promise he made me.

Nay his friend threw himself over him, and exhorted him to continue true to the prophet MAHOMET; in spite of the *Comite*, who was present, and threatened severely to beat him, if he desisted not. He prevailed in despite of all, for the poor wretch died in my presence in his error.

Had I understood religion as well as I do now, I should not in that extremity, have insisted so much on the absolute necessity of baptism: but having given him a general notion of the principles of the Christian religion, I should have admonished him to repentance, and to implore the Divine mercy for pardon of his sins through the merits of CHRIST; and so in saving his soul from death, I should have hid a multitude of my own sins. The reader, I hope, will excuse my former error.

Though, as appears from what hath been said, the Turks on the galleys are treated somewhat better than the Christians; and though they be in no wise molested on the score of religion, for whilst *Mass* is a saying, they are put into the caique or long-boat, where they divert themselves by smoking and talking: yet there is not one of them, but would give all the world to be at his liberty. For the very name of a Galley is terrible to them, because, notwithstanding their treatment is pretty easy, yet they are slaves during life: unless when they are very old and unserviceable, they meet with friends who are willing to lay out a large sum of money for their ransom. Which shews how little those persons are acquainted with the affairs of that nature, who say that "there are in the galleys, men who would not accept of their freedom; though it were offered them." It is just like talking of a battle which one never saw, unless at a great distance; or knows nothing of but by hearsay.

Those who are called *Faussoniers* [deceivers] are generally poor peasants, who are found to buy salt in such provinces where it is cheap, such as the country of Burgundy, or the country of Dombe. In France, what they call a pint of salt, weighing four pounds, costs 3s. 6d.

There are some poor peasants and their whole families, who, for want of salt, eat no soup sometimes in a whole week; though it be their common nourishment. A man in that case, grieved to see his wife and children in a starving,

languishing condition, ventures to go abroad, to buy salt in the Provinces where it is three parts in four cheaper. If discovered, he is certainly sent to the galleys. It is a very melancholy sight, to see a wife and children lament their father, whom they see ladened with chains and irrevocably lost; and that for no other crime but endeavouring to procure subsistence for those to whom he gave birth.

These, indeed, are condemned only for a time; perhaps five, six, or eight years: but the misfortune is, that having served out their time, if they outlive it, they are still unjustly detained. For Penance or *Masses* avail nothing in this Purgatory, Indulgences are excluded, especially if the man be unfortunately strong and robust, let his sentence be what it will. The King's orders are that when the time of the sentence is expired, they should be set at liberty, and sent home. But in this, as in many other cases, his orders are not duly put in execution: which indeed does not excuse him! since a good Prince is obliged to have an eye on the administration of his Ministers and servants.

As for Deserters, their sentence runs during life. Formerly, they used to cut off their nose and ears: but because they stank, and commonly infected the whole crew, they only now give them a little slit.

Though these are inexcusable, because desertion is, upon several accounts, dangerous and base: yet it moves one's pity to see young men, who often happen to descend from good families, condemned to so wretched and so miserable a life.

Such as are condemned for Crimes, are generally, *filous* [*pickpockets*], sharpers, rooks [*cheats*], or highwaymen. The most notorious villains are least daunted, and take heart soonest. They presently strike up a friendship with those of their own gang. They tell over their old rogueries, and boast of their crimes; and the greatest villain passes for the greatest hero.

The misery they have reduced themselves to, is so far from working any amendment, that it makes them more desperate and wicked: insomuch that if any stranger chances to come

aboard, though it were but a handkerchief or some such trifle, they will certainly steal it, if they can. Their common employment is to forge titles, to engrave false seals, and to counterfeit handwriting; and these they sell to others as bad as themselves, that often come in, some time after, to bear them company. But though they feel no remorse, yet they feel the *Comite*; who, with a rope's end, often visits their shoulders: but then, instead of complaining, they vomit out oaths and blasphemies enough to make a man's hair stand on end.

There was one, who, shewing me the mark the rope had made about his neck, bragged that though he had escaped the gallows, he was not thereby grown a coward: but that, as soon as ever he had been at liberty, he had robbed the first person he met with. And that having been taken, and brought before a judge who knew him not; he had been only condemned to the galleys; where, he thanked GOD! he was sure of bread and good company, the remainder of his days.

It is certain, that how terrible and hard soever the usage of such may be in the galleys; yet it is too mild for them! for in spite of all the misery they endure, they are guilty of crimes too abominable to be here related.

Over which, we shall draw a veil; and go on to the Protestants: who are there purely because they chose rather to obey GOD than man; and were not willing to exchange their souls for the gain of the World. It is not the least aggravating circumstance of their misery, to be condemned to such hellish company. They who have so great a value for the truth of religion as to prefer it to their worldly interest, must be supposed to be indued with too much virtue, not to be in pain and under concern, for the open breach of its rules, and the unworthiness of its professors.

THE Protestants, now on the galleys, have been condemned thither, at several times.

The first were put in, after the Revocation of the *Edict of Nantes* [*October* 22, 1685]. The term prefixed for the fatal choice of either abjuring their religion, or leaving the Kingdom was a fortnight: and

that upon pain of being condemned to the galleys. But this liberty, by many base artifices and unjust methods was rendered useless, and of none effect. There were often secret orders, by the contrivance of the Clergy, to prevent their embarking, and to hinder the selling of their substance. Their debtors were absolved by their Confessors, when they denied [the payment of] a debt. Children were forced from their fathers' and mothers' arms, in hopes that the tenderness of the Parent might prevail over the zeal of the Christian. They indeed were not massacred, as in HEROD's time, but the blood of the Fathers was mingled with their tears. For many Ministers, who had zeal and constancy enough to brave the severest punishments, were broken alive upon wheels, without mercy, whenever surprised discharging the duties of their function. The *Registers* and Courts of Justice where the sentences were pronounced against them are recorded, and the executioners of them are lasting monuments of the bloody temper and fury of Popery.

The laity were forbidden, on pain of the galleys, leaving the kingdom, on any pretence whatsoever. But what posterity will scarcely believe! the Protestants of all sexes, ages, and conditions used to fly through deserts and wild impracticable ways, they committed their lives to the mercy of the seas, and ran innumerable hazards, to avoid either idolatry or martyrdom. Some escaped very happily [*fortunately*] in spite of the vigilance of the dragoons and bailiffs: but a great many fell into their hands. The prisons were filled with Confessors. But the saddest spectacle of all, was to see 200 men at a time, chained together, going to the galleys; and above 100 of that number Protestants. And what was barbarous and unjust to the last degree, was that they were obliged, when there, on pain of *bastinado*, to bow before the *Host*, and to hear *Mass*: and yet that was the only crime for which they had been condemned thither.

For suppose they were in the wrong, in obstinately refusing to change their religion; the galleys were the punishment! Why then were they required to do that, which had been the cause of their condemnation? Especially since there is a law in France, that positively forbids a double punishment for one and the same fault, viz., *Non bis punitur in idem.* But in France, properly speaking, there is no Law where the

King's commands are absolute and peremptory. I have seen a General *Bastinado*, on that account; which I shall describe in its proper place

It is certain, that though there were, at first, a very great number of Protestants condemned to the galleys, the *bastinado* and other torments hath destroyed [*between* 1685 *and* 1708] above three parts of four; and the most of those who are still alive are in dungeons, as Monsieurs BANSILLION, DE SERRES, and SABATTIER, who are confined to a dungeon, at Château d'If, a fort built upon a rock in the sea, three miles from Marseilles.

But the generous constancy of this last, about eight or ten months ago [*or rather in* 1689], deserves a place in this History, and challenges the admiration of all true Protestants.

Monsieur [FRANÇOIS] SABATTIER, whose charity and zeal equal those of the primitive Christians, having a little money, distributed it to his brethren and fellow sufferers in the galleys. But the Protestants being watched more narrowly than the rest; he could not do it so secretly but he was discovered, and brought before Monsieur DE MONMORT, Intendant of the Galleys at Marseilles.

Being asked, he did not deny the fact.

Monsieur MONMORT not only promised him his *Pardon*, but a reward if he would declare who it was that had given him that money?

Monsieur SABATTIER modestly answered that, "he should be guilty of ingratitude before GOD and man, if, by any confession, he should bring them into trouble who had been so charitable to him": that "his person was at his disposal, but he desired to be excused, as to the secret expected from him."

The Intendant replied he "had a way to make him tell, and that immediately."

Whereupon, he sent for some Turks, who at his command stripped SABATTIER stark naked; and beat him, at several times, with rope ends and cudgels, during three days. And seeing this did not prevail over this generous Confessor, he himself, which never happened to an Intendant before, turned Executioner! striking him with his cane; and telling the by-standers, "See, what a devil of a religion this is!" These

were his own expressions, as is credibly reported by persons that were present. The *Gazettes* and Public Letters gave us an account of the same.

At last, seeing he was ready to expire; he commanded him into a dungeon: where, maugre all torments, Providence hath preserved him to this day [*He was released in* 1713].

But though most of the Protestants of the first date are destroyed: yet the Wars in the Cevennes [1702–1705] have furnished them with more than enough to fill the vacant places. These Wars may be properly called a Second Persecution, because the cruelty and inveterate malice of a Popish priest was the occasion and first cause of them.

One of the most bitter and passionate enemies of the Protestants was the Abbot DU CHELAS, whose benefice was in the Cevennes. He kept an exact account of the Protestants in his district. Whenever he missed them at *Mass*, he used to send for them, under some pretence or other, to his house; and used to make his servants tie them (whether men, women, or maidens) to a tree, stripped down to their waist: and then, with horsewhips, scourged them till the blood gushed out.

This the Papists themselves do not deny, who own that this DU CHELAS was an ill [*bad*] man: and yet this his proceeding against the Protestants, being meritorious at Court, he had encouragement to hope for a reward.

But at last, his Protestant neighbours perceiving there were no hopes of pacifying this monster by submission and fair means, grew desperate: and one night invested his house. He leaped out of his window into his garden; but not being able to get out, he begged Quarter: but as he had never granted any, they served him in his kind, by killing him.

And because they were sure of being pursued, they kept the country: and by degrees their numbers increased. All that were tormented for not going to *Mass*, made a body and joined them. GOD blessed their arms with success for some time: but (for good reasons, no doubt, though unknown to us) he gave them up into the hands of their enemies; and not only them, but the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, as the Viverrois and Languedoc. And [on] the bare suspicion of being in their Interest, those with whom any

arms were found, those who refused to frequent the *Mass*, were either hanged, or broken on the wheel.

That pretended Rebellion was made use of, as a pretence to send to the galleys, several rich Protestant merchants.

There is, since that time, a Gentleman, Monsieur SALGAS by name, who before the Repealing of the Edict of Nantes, enjoyed a plentiful estate in the Cevennes. In order to keep it, he abjured his religion, and promised to go to *Mass*. His spouse, a worthy Lady (with whom I have often conversed at Geneva where she lives) refused; and generously rejected all proposals on that subject.

Seeing they threatened her, with a Cloister, she endeavoured to gain time: but, at last, her husband told her that there was a positive order from Court, to confine her, if she did not comply and go to *Mass*.

This courageous Lady, who deserves to be a pattern of piety and zeal to posterity, having, by prayer and other acts of devotion, implored the Divine assistance, resolved to quit her country, her husband children and estate, and all that is dear and precious here below.

She took her opportunity, one day, when her husband was gone a hunting; without communicating anything of her design to anybody but to such as were instrumental in her escape. She retired to Geneva, where she might have liberty to make an open profession of her religion, and bemoan the misfortune of her family.

Some time after, the Wars of the Cevennes broke out. Monsieur de SALGAS was accused of assisting the Camisards with provisions: and, in spite of his hypocrisy and pretended zeal for his new religion, he was sent to the galleys.

But here we must admire the wisdom of Providence, very remarkable in this dispensation. For this has proved the means to open his own eyes, and to let him see his error: as appears from the penitential letters he writes to his friends, his Christianlike behaviour under his sufferings, his exhortations to his fellow sufferers, and the noble and pious example he shews them.

He hath had frequent offers made him, of being restored to his estate, on the same conditions he had preserved it before: but he hath hitherto been proof against all their attempts.

He was, some years ago, put into the Hospital General for the Galleys, at Marseilles. This is a kind of manufactory, where their treatment is somewhat easier than in the galleys. But at the siege of Toulon [1707], he and all his brethren were taken out of that hospital, and reduced to their old station and former miserable condition; besides losing 12 or 14 Louis d'Or [*about £12 or £14*] which he had procured, to purchase such necessaries as might keep up and support his spirits, under the hardships he endured. This account came to his Lady, while I was there [*therefore BION was at Geneva in* 1707]; who is, as one may easily imagine, under an inexpressible concern for the miseries her husband groans under.

But it is time to bring this sad Relation to a conclusion. In order whereunto, I shall according to my promise, give an account of the General *Bastinado*, at which I was present: and it was not the least means of my conversion! GOD grant it may be effectual to my salvation!

In the year 1703, several Protestants out of Languedoc and the Cevennes, were put on board our galley.

They were narrowly watched and observed. I was mightily surprised, one Sunday morning, after saying *Mass* on the *Bancasse* (a table so placed that all in the galley may see the priest when he elevates the *Host*), to hear the *Comite* say he was "going to give the Huguenots the *bastinado* because they did not kneel, nor shew any respect to the mysteries of the *Mass*," and that he was a going to acquaint the Captain therewith.

The very name of *Bastinado* terrified me, and though I had never seen this fearful execution, I begged the *Comite* to forbear till the next Sunday; and that, in the mean time, I would endeavour to convince them of what I (then) thought their duty, and mine own.

Accordingly I used all the means I could possibly think of, to that effect; sometimes making use of fair means, giving them victuals and doing them other good offices; sometimes using threats, and representing the torments that were designed them; and often urging the King's command; and quoting the passage of St. PAUL, that *he who resists the Higher Powers, resists GOD!*

I had not, at that time, any design to oblige them to do anything against their consciences. I must confess that what I did at that time, chiefly proceeded from a motive of pity and tenderness. This was the cause of my zeal; which had been more fatal to them, had not GOD endued them with resolution and virtue sufficient to bear up against my arguments and the terrible execution they had in view.

I could not but admire, at once both the modesty of their answers and greatness of their courage. "The King," said they, "is indeed master over our bodies, but not of our consciences."

At last, the dreadful day being come, the *Comite* narrowly observed them, to see the fruit of my labours. There were only two out of the twenty, that bowed their knee to BAAL.

The rest generously refused it, and were accordingly, by the Captain's command, served in the manner following:

Here, like another ÆNEAS (with regret, calling to mind the miseries and ruin of his own country; the very memory whereof struck his soul with horror); I may truly say,

Infandum Regina jubes renovare dolorem!

In order to the execution, every man's chains were taken off; and they were put into the hands of four Turks, who stripped them stark naked, and stretched them upon the *Coursier*, that great gun we have described in the *Preface*. There they are so held that they cannot so much as stir. During that time, there is a horrid silence throughout the whole galley. It is so cruel a scene that the most profligate obdurate wretches cannot bear the sight; but are forced to turn away their eyes.

The victim thus prepared, the Turk pitched upon to be the executioner, with a tough cudgel or knotty rope's end, unmercifully beats the poor wretch; and that too the more willingly, because he thinks that it is acceptable to his prophet MAHOMET.

But the most barbarous thing of all is, that after the skin is flayed off their bones; the only balsam they apply to their wounds is a mixture of vinegar and salt.

After this, they are thrown into the hospital already described.

I went thither, after the execution; and could not refrain

from tears at the sight of so much barbarity. They quickly perceived it, and though scarce able to speak, through pain and weakness; they thanked me for the compassion I expressed, and the kindness I had always shewn them.

I went with a design to administer some comfort; but I was glad to find them less moved than I was myself. It was wonderful to see with what true Christian patience and constancy, they bore their torments: in the extremity of their pain, never expressing anything like rage; but calling upon Almighty GOD, and imploring his assistance.

I visited them, day by day; and as often as I did, my conscience upbraided me for persisting so long in a religion, whose capital errors I had long before perceived, and above all, that inspired so much cruelty; a temper directly opposite to the spirit of Christianity. At last, their wounds, like so many mouths, preached to me, made me sensible of my error, and experimentally taught me the excellency of the Protestant Religion.

But it is high time to conclude, and draw a curtain over this horrid scene; which presents us with none but ghastly sights, and transactions full of barbarity and injustice: but which all shew how false what they pretend in France, is, for detaining the Protestants in the galleys, viz., that they do not suffer there upon a religious, but a civil account: being condemned for rebellion and disobedience. The punishments inflicted on them, when they refuse to adore the *Host*; the rewards and advantages offered them on their compliance in that particular; are a sufficient argument against them: there being no such offers made to such, who are condemned for crimes. It shews the World also, the almost incredible barbarity used against the French Protestants; and, at the same time, sets off in a most glorious manner, their virtue, constancy, and zeal for their holy Religion.

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